The Nation

Vol. CVI NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1918 No. 2759

The Week

THE American labor delegates abroad, we learn by cable, have "rebuked" the French labor leaders for asking them to enter a conference with German labor men. Never will they do so, they declare, until a military victory is achieved. Not unnaturally the French resent this. It is perhaps a little bit hard for them, in the face of the stupendous sacrifices French labor has made for the cause, to be lectured by representatives of a country which has only just begun to enter the war. Surely, no one can accuse the French of being unduly ready to palter with the enemy when their bodies have again helped to bar his way to the coast. But the truth seems to be that there is a misunderstanding at the bottom of the difficulty. Paul Aubriot explains that the Germans will not be met unconditionally; that the meeting will be on the basis of the inspiring terms laid down by the Inter-Allied Labor Conference in London, and that the Germans must agree to those terms. Marcel Cochin says that French labor will not agree to the American position that no conference is desirable until the war ends, but that an agreement that German labor shall repudiate German imperialism before coming to the conference is quite possible.

ALBERT THOMAS asserts that French labor is as ready as ever it was to spend lives and all its resources to oppose the Kaiser's dupes, but he insists that it is "the strength of the Socialists to point out to our enemies the conditions of the democratic peace they wish realized." The best statement comes, however, from Léon Jouhoux, president of the French Federation of Labor. It is as follows:

> We are just as patriotic as our American friends and colleagues. We want to push the war to a successful conclusion, but we do not wish it to last one minute more than necessary. We think advantage might be derived from meeting German labor representatives, which would hasten the termination of the war.

English workers under the leadership of Arthur Henderson take the same view; they will not budge an inch in their opposition to the German Government; they would not consent to an armistice, but they see no harm in a conference with German labor leaders in sympathy with the aims of the Inter-Allied Labor Conference. It will be remembered that the English Labor party proposed to send delegates here to convert the American labor group to their point of view, but that the Seamen's Union refused to let them leave England. Now it is announced that a French labor mission, headed by Cochin, Jouhoux, and Aubriot, will soon start for this country on a similar errand, which will, we trust, be successful.

> I say to the English people: Drop this thing and seek a way of friendship. It is not yet too late. Allow Ireland the freedom in government the majority of her people ask, and trust to those who are free to defend a freedom guaranteed by Imperial law.

THUS writes the admired "A. E.," George W. Russell, who labored zealously in the Irish Convention until near its end, when he resigned because of despair at the outcome. Irish sympathy for the Allied cause, this widely known English writer declares, was "turned into indifference, indifference was fanned into hostility, and I am afraid hostility is changing into bitter hate. I see all this with grief. I have always believed in brotherhood between the peoples, and I think hatred corrupts the soul of a nation." Mr. Russell's words are sponsored by an editorial in the *Manchester Guardian*, which we wish might have wide circulation in this country. This Liberal English daily, today one of the most influential members of the English press, declares that what is on foot is "a crime" against Great Britain no less than "a crime against Ireland." It adds: "We do not think the mass of the (English) people are to blame. They *do not realize that murder, the murder of a nation, is afoot.* When they see the work begun, they will be shocked, perhaps horrified, but too late."

WHEN one reads such outspoken words printed in England without let or hindrance by the British Government, is it not discouraging to read of the attendance of hundreds of our Secret Service men at the recent meeting of sympathy with Ireland in Madison Square Garden and the shrill outbursts in some quarters that treason to the Allied cause was uttered there? We cannot afford in this matter to be less liberal than the British themselves. Nor can we expect the hearts of any Irish-Americans to be unwrung at the terrible prospect of bloodshed opening up in this gravely wronged island. More than that, every American interested in winning the war has a profound stake in the outcome of the Irish entanglement. If civil war flames up there, it is bound to affect the army at the front, in which there are many thousands of Irishmen. Already John Dillon has charged that tanks, heavy guns, armored cars, and other military supplies have been taken from the front and shipped to Ireland, and no official has denied this. At this hour, nothing should interfere with the concentration of all possible power upon the western front; nothing should be allowed to detract from the vital issue there. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that Mr. Russell asks how on earth the British army will profit by drafted men "who would now as readily turn their arms against your officers as against the enemy." The way out is simple. Will Lloyd George have the courage to adopt it and close up the ranks of the Allies by bringing in many thousands of enthusiastic Irish volunteers?

THIRTY-NINE hundred convictions obtained by the Department of Justice under existing laws against disloyalty are a commentary upon the need for a new Sedition bill under the provisions of which "the Department of Justice will be able to do much towards checking the wave of mob outrage for which unpublished disloyalty and enemy activity are blamed." The mob of ruffians under the leadership of a drunkard which hanged Prager in Illinois must have carefully studied the record of the Department of Justice before deciding to take the law into its own hands! Whether the Sedition bill strengthens the hands of the Attorney-General remains to be seen. What is certain is

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that it puts arbitrary power into the hands of the Postmaster-General to render *incomunicado* "any person or concern" by refusing to deliver addressed mail upon "evidence satisfactory" to the Postmaster-General. There is here no such meagre safeguard even as was observed under the original Espionage act when suspected newspapers were cited for a hearing in Washington before final action by the Post Office Department. Before signing the Sedition bill, it is for the President to decide whether we stand in need of arbitrary measures such as neither England nor France has found it necessary to adopt.

WITH the I. W. W., as with any other symptom of social ailment, there are two ways of dealing. One is to make faces at the symptom, the other is to probe at the cause. While Congress was debating last week pains and penalties against the I. W. W., the Department of Justice announced that, as a result of investigations of the Bisbee deportations of last July, representatives of the Department have gone to Arizona for the purpose of setting the machinery of the law in motion against the leaders of that high-handed outrage against the fundamental liberties of the citizen. That mob violence of the law-and-order kind has been operating in the Arizona copper region no reader of the news can fail to recognize. No reader of Mr. Robert Bruère's articles on Bisbee and the I. W. W., published in the *Evening Post*, can fail to appreciate that better than the multiplication of sedition laws is action by the Administration against the causes that enter so largely into the production of I. W. W.ism.

THE appointment of Felix Frankfurter as Federal Administrator of Labor must meet with general approval throughout the country. No better choice for this position could have been made. Mr. Frankfurter is one of the few intellectuals picked by the Administration who has shown eminent capacity for executive work. From his professor's chair at the Harvard Law School he stepped straight into active service in Washington at the war's outbreak, where he was called upon to perform a number of difficult tasks, all of which demanded the exercise of great tact and courage. His disentangling of the labor situation on the Pacific Coast proved to be one of his most successful accomplishments. It is also claimed that he had a controlling hand in the Bisbee investigation and the splendid report to the President which resulted. In his new capacity Mr. Frankfurter will only be continuing his former activities, with more extensive powers, however, to coördinate and control the relations of labor and capital during the remainder of the war.

MR. GOMPERS makes no startling discovery when he learns that labor conditions in Porto Rico are almost intolerably bad. Since it would seem that Governor Yager has not energetically attacked their improvement, agitation of the sufferings of the hundreds of thousands of *jibaros* who exist on 50 or 60 cents a day will do much good. Secretary Wilson has asked the National War Labor Board to conduct an investigation. We recently had a reliable statement from Dean Fleagle, of the University of Porto Rico, concerning the poverty, malnutrition, and ignorance of a large part of the islanders. The majority of them, it is no exaggeration to say, live upon the same plane as the Mexican peon; and so great is the overcrowding of the island that their outlook is less hopeful. The organization of urban labor to deal with the employers can accomplish little, for the great majority of wage-earners are employed upon the land. It is to be hoped that the War Labor Board will find means to stimulate measures for bettering the lot not only of the unionized workers of San Juan and Ponce, but of the "pale men" held in little better than bondage on the great estates. While Porto Rico is overpopulated, other islands near by suffer for lack of labor.

WE are indebted to the Committee on Coöperation with Latin America for the translation of an interesting article on the attitude of Mexico towards the United States which appeared in a recent issue of *El Pueblo* of Mexico City. The writer refers to the complaint of an American newspaper that Mexico has expressed no sympathy with the United States in our present critical experience, and in reply points to the way in which Mexican resources have been put at the disposal of the United States and her allies. According to *El Pueblo*, the Mexicans are not given to merely sentimental exhibitions of political sympathy. To quote: "Some measure of cynicism is due to the bitterness of our own recent experiences, the more so as we know the source of our present shortage of supplies, and we are subject to no illusions as to either the past or the future." None the less, Mexico has striven to keep on friendly terms and to preserve cordial relations, though the task of maintaining neutrality is a difficult one.

> We do not want war; that is the sum of the matter. . . . We have no desire for useless sacrifice or the shedding of our blood for the sins of others, and so long as we are not provoked, so long as we are not damaged, so long as we are not mistreated, we shall remain friends of all. This is the sentiment of all of us, government and governed. Only in this line can we hope for our own national reconstruction.

No matter how strong our conviction of the righteousness of our war, surely we cannot wonder that after the experiences of the past seven years the Mexicans desire peace to rebuild their own shattered national fabric. That this task is serious enough is indicated by another editorial, taken from *Excelsior*, discussing the tremendous efforts being made throughout the country to increase agricultural production, and the formation of home defence leagues in some sections to protect crops against bandits.

HOW lightly even our Legislatures regard Constitutions is illustrated by the action of the lawmakers of North Carolina. At their last session they provided for the submission to the voters of the question whether or not a Constitutional Convention should be called. Yet the Constitution of the State was recently overhauled. In 1913 a special committee submitted its recommendations to the Legislature, which struck out some of them and submitted the rest to the people, who rejected them. Later a set of amendments was adopted by popular vote. The strange thing about the present move is that in the face of this rejection of the work of a committee universally praised for its ability and industry, the 120 delegates to be elected in November may, if they choose, adopt a Constitution without submitting it to anybody. It cannot be pretended that the 120 are likely to be any such body as that which met in 1913, without any such power. The situation is arousing concern. It has been discovered that the law provided no machinery for sending the delegates to Raleigh. Advan-

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tage is being taken of this omission by the Democratic and Republican State Committees, who are conferring with a view to annulling the election of delegates. Failure to make nominations would presumably do the business. But what a commentary the law is upon our way of establishing the foundations of our governments!

A VERY interesting article in a recent number of the *American Journal of Public Health* is devoted largely to pointing out the enormous waste of food supplies throughout the United States. The writer, on good authority, states that more than $700,000,000 worth of food has been lost every year in this country, considerably more than enough to feed the great city of New York. Lack of transportation, marketing, canning, cold storage, and drying facilities accounts for the biggest part of this loss. On the other hand, it must be noted that America is not the only wasteful nation in the world, that, in fact, Germany herself, before the war, failed to make use of at least 30 per cent. of her food supplies. As a matter of fact, what appears statistically as waste is frequently an indication that a people have channels in which labor and capital may be employed more profitably than in food-saving. In ordinary peace times it usually does not pay to bother with small economies when wages and interest charges are high. But war changes all that. Food in sufficient quantities has to be produced, no matter what its cost.

THE complaint is made by various medical men that the medical schools are being depleted of their best professors by the army and navy and war work. Naturally enough, the task we are now engaged in makes the greatest demands upon every branch of industry and science. But it is perfectly clear that, if we do not wish to risk the health of the next generation, we must keep up both quantity and quality in our production of doctors. Last year the quantitative aspect of the problem was finally settled by exemption of medical students. But if all the best teachers are withdrawn from the schools for war service, surely, no matter how many physicians are turned out, the quality of the graduate is bound to be poor. The medical profession has responded with great patriotism to all Government demands. It should not, however, be forced to sacrifice the future welfare of the country to the present, unless the need is absolutely imperative.

COLUMBIA University's present deficit is $250,000; and it is stated that even though the institution is to cut its expenses by $150,000 next year, the deficit in June, 1919, is expected to be at least $200,000. A slight annual deficit has been a familiar fact in Columbia, Barnard, and Teachers Colleges alike. That despite all economies it should be a great one in the coming year will follow unavoidably from a prospective loss in tuition fees estimated at above $200,000. Student fees and other student receipts have consistently been the largest item in the University's income, amounting in 1912–13, for example, to nearly $1,500,000 in the three colleges, which that year had a total income of about $3,000,000. Labor, fuel, light, and equipment cost more. It is now evident that only a few of the colleges and universities that had depended largely on receipts from students will be able to recoup their losses by dropping courses and lessening facilities which the decreased attendance no longer demands.

Democracy and Hush!

IT would have been odd if the latest Lloyd George crisis had passed without a great deal of reference to swapping horses in the middle of the stream. Whether it really counted for much in the final vote is another question. About this business of exchanging mounts there is all the difference in the world whether one is with the "ins" or the "outs." To the former the process is always a perilous one. The other party regards it as a comparatively minor operation, and on the whole the truth lies a little closer to this side. No one will venture to say that knocking down and setting up Governments in a situation like that which England and the Allies now face is a trivial matter. But, without reference to the Lloyd George case, the rule against swapping horses may easily become a bogey. It may be used to excuse gross error, to mask selfish motives, and above all to stifle criticism in a democracy. Since it is perilous to swap horses, it follows that it is wrong and perilous to criticise the horse's gait and speed. Hostile facts then become obstruction. Criticism begins to verge on sedition. Doubts become an attack on national morale. The full development of the theory ends in a policy of hush.

For a complete refutation of the horse-swapping axiom, with its attendant principle of hush, we may turn to the one nation whose spirit and achievements have blazed out above the murk of the conflict, whose name has become a trumpet call and a glory to the democratic nations of the world, to suffering, unyielding, towering France. The French have not been afraid to swap horses. Since the outbreak of the war they have had five Governments—Viviani, Briand, Ribot, Painlevé, Clemenceau. Three of these changes have occurred within a little more than a year. And it has been a year of severe moral crisis, a year of bitter disappointments and acute fears, when an observer might well have said that the turmoils in Parliament and the crash of Cabinets were signs of the panic that precedes national dissolution. France has emerged from the process more resolute, more confident, with greater equanimity, than ever. What is the secret? Fundamentally, it is the French genius which refuses to sacrifice principle to near-sighted expediency. It is the spirit which is not afraid of what the neighbors will say because it is conscious of its own resources. It is a basic confidence in democracy.

France has applied the same principle to the business of fighting Germany. She lost no time in drawing the lesson from her first bitter experiences and demanding for her elected representatives a voice in the management of the war. Her large Parliamentary Commissions have functioned for three years with results attested by the present condition of the French army. In other countries of the Entente there is still too much of the old reluctance on the part of Governments and Cabinets to trust the representatives of the people. The anti-democratic disbelief in the capacity of committees to take wise or resolute action has persisted. The success of the experiment at Paris is all the more striking because the normal tone of French parliamentary life is not over-healthy. But the French have proceeded in the belief that a time which tries men's souls may also purify them; that crisis will bring out the best in normal man. This belief has been completely vindicated in spite, nay, by the very fact, of her Bolos and Caillaux. The French have refused to subscribe to the policy of hush.

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One of Clemenceau's first acts, after the country's emergence from under the pall of "defeatism," was to abolish the political censorship. Rather than suffer pestilence in the house, France has dared to wash her dirty linen in public; that, to be sure, is the old French tradition. She washes her dirty linen and turns it into an oriflamme.

French equanimity, resolution, and confidence in the ultimate worth of democratic processes may supply a lesson nearer home. The example of France might well be applied to our artificial panics over the "shame of Wisconsin," our fears of a German press chiefly read by old men and women in the chimney corner, our demands for court-martial law, our recurrent nerves over "plots" and "seditions," whether apprehended at Washington or by excited public opinion outside Washington, our general sensitiveness lest the piercing eye of the German eagle discover traces of disunion among us, and the Kaiser accordingly rejoice. The French have refused to bother about what the Kaiser thinks. When sedition became a reality, they dealt with it swiftly enough, but they have not put themselves out to create an appearance of absolute unity for the sake of impressing the enemy. They chose to let the enemy have all the comfort he can derive from the rumbling of the democratic machine, and to keep for themselves the solid, the inestimable advantages of a thorough faith in democracy. Much of the energy which goes into heresy hunting might be better utilized in the conduct of the war, and it might do us good to borrow from our sister democracy something of her clear common-sense, and along with it something of the *toujours gai*.

What We Have Done and Not Done

TO the stories of failure in munitions and aircraft, Secretary Baker's announcement of half a million American soldiers in France comes as a cheerful offset. As against the claims of optimism or pessimism in other branches of our war effort Mr. Baker's statements have the merit of concreteness. It is true he did not say half a million men; he said the half-million estimate made in January has been "surpassed." That is the kind of vagueness to which we are easily reconciled. It does not behoove us to make the Baker figures a springboard into unmitigated confidence. But the time is at hand for striking something like a balance between what we have done in the past thirteen months and what we have failed to do.

In four ways the country set out to give help to the Allies: men, munitions, food, ships. As to the proper priority within this list, emphasis has shifted from time to time, a circumstance to which must be debited part of such failure as we must admit. It was men first when Marshal Joffre was in this country. It became food with the advent of the bad crops all over the world in 1917. It became ships when the U-boat total mounted up with the months. It became men again when Colonel House returned from his mission with the decision of the Inter-Allied Council at Paris. It has been more than ever men since the beginning of the German offensive.

What has been our record of achievement in these four primal categories? Regarding food, there is little to be said. Our measures have been, judging by possibilities in war time, an unqualified success. We have fed the Allies and we have taken care of ourselves. The rally of the country to Mr. Hoover has been splendid. From the amateur war-gardens, whose results are moral rather than practical, to the farmer's increased acreages, in spite of debate about the proper price for wheat, the country has risen to its duty. Last winter we feared panic prices for flour in this country for this spring. The price of flour has been going down. To-day we read of the prospects of a magnificent wheat crop. Mr. Hoover will not claim credit for the heavy snowstorms of last winter with their beneficent moisture for the food fields, nor for the extremely favorable spring weather. Yet, on the other hand, Mr. Hoover would have been eyed askance if yesterday's crop report had been a dismal one. Such is the psychology of war criticism.

With regard to fighting men, the record shows that within a little less than a year from the first registration under the selective draft we have brought some 1,200,000 men of the National Army under the colors. Add to this the regular army of about 400,000 men and the National Guard of approximately the same strength, and the yield of the first year of war has been two million men. But of these two millions, ought we to have had in France more than the possible 600,000 or 700,000 men indicated in Mr. Baker's statement? The critics of our "failure" would say so; but not so emphatically the impartial observer who has recognized the magnitude of our entire task or who has seen what other nations have accomplished. Our army now is not much smaller than the British army when it delivered its first offensive at Neuve Chapelle in March, 1915, after nearly eight months of war.

When we come to ships, we begin with our list of disappointments, partial or complete. To-day it may seem a pity that long months were lost in experiments and squabbles. Yet the experiments had to be made. What would have happened in a democracy if Mr. Wilson had refused a fair trial to the happy-thought wooden ships? But if the past has its regrets, the present and future offer compensations. The speed of our old and new shipyards is cumulative with the months. Admiral Sims believes that in a short time the new construction will balance the U-boat sinkings. But, after all, the test of ships is in the shipping. We apparently have the bottoms for pouring our men into France, though undoubtedly the Allied shipping is a help. We have done extraordinary work in facilitating transport by quickness of turnover. The convoy system presumes a slackening of the speed of the slowest ship. Yet we hear of convoys of more than a dozen ships crossing the Atlantic in seven days and setting out for home in four or five days.

The account closes with an apparently heavy debit charge in the matter of munitions and airplanes. Here we must wait for fuller information before confessing "failure." Secretary Baker's statement with regard to the Browning guns is in pretty sharp contradiction to the charges. But in speaking of failure in airplanes and guns, we cannot overlook that factor of priority which was established in the Paris Council last autumn. We took our time about airplanes and guns partly because we were told that they were the least pressing of the Allied needs. Our soldiers, in French and British divisions, are not short of cannon or planes. There is no excuse for complaisance in face of the ugly accusations at Washington. But we should approach the problem with a just comprehension of the things we have done as well as the things we have failed to do.

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An Anonymous War?

PRESIDENT WILSON'S decision to publish the addresses of the men whose names appear upon the casualty lists bespeaks wisdom and common-sense. To believe that the publication in the United States, days after an engagement, of the States from which our fighters came would be giving information of value to the enemy strikes laymen as absurd. The hostile forces know exactly who is opposite them and have known since the beginning of the trench warfare. That is why the trench raids we hear so much of are undertaken; from the uniforms of the captives and their stories is gleaned much of value. On the other hand, to fight this war behind a complete screen of mystery as to the individuals and organizations taking part in the gigantic struggle means inevitably a lack of that enthusiasm and interest among the home public which would inevitably follow upon the narrative of the achievements of units from this or that State or territorial division. Hence we ardently hope that President Wilson's decision as to the casualty lists, followed by Secretary Baker's announcement that we have more than 500,000 troops in France, foreshadows a wiser policy. Certainly, if it is desired to counteract the lying statements of the German press as to the paucity in numbers of our troops and to impress all Germany with the seriousness of our efforts, we ought to print monthly the number of troops in Europe. Incidentally, the figures would hearten the American public not a little and put an end to much needless criticism of our own Government.

At present the censorship is so conducted that the American people know practically only the name of the commanding general, Pershing, among the officers at the front. Press associations and correspondents are forbidden to name any other officer in their dispatches save, apparently, when foreign decorations are bestowed upon American officers. But even here there is a total lack of consistency, for though we do not know who are second and third in command of our half-million, we are permitted to read the statement of a successful Yankee aviator as to how it feels to drive down your first Boche. England is told quickly enough if a gallant general gathers up a nondescript force of men and checks the enemy in his hour of success. Carey then becomes a household name in England; but if an American brigadier does some gallant work, he is nameless and his deeds are unsung.

Again, when the Rainbow Division was formed, it was specially organized in order that nearly all our States should be represented in one division to typify the country. This was a splendid piece of war publicity, and the press was full of the Division's preparations. There was nation-wide interest in it, which was continued until suddenly all mention of it faded out of the press. Every intelligent person knew what that meant, and so did every German spy if there are such able to communicate with their employers. The Rainbow Division had sailed. But no official announcement was made, though, if the *Nation's* editors are correctly informed, the Germans were aware of this Division's arrival in France long before it went to the firing line. When that event took place, the people of the East guessed it from the casualty lists of New York and New England soldiers. Yet here consistency is lacking; for when our New York Irish regiment entered the fray, it was reported in this wise: "The gallant —th Regiment, bearing the United States and the *Irish* flags, went over the top." If this bit of stupidity deceived the Germans, it certainly cannot have fooled any sane resident of New York city. Now, moreover, we are beginning to be told little items which, if anonymity is to be preserved, ought not to appear at all. Thus we heard last week that two companies of the Ninth United States Infantry were honored as companies by the French Government; but we have never yet been told which regiment it was which marched through Paris last July and aroused such great enthusiasm in the French public. Lately we were able to identify a New England regiment, which recently received more than 100 *croix de guerre*, from the news of a press dispatch, but no official announcement was made. France may honor our gallant ones, but not we ourselves or our Government!

Surely it is time for a reversal of this foolish policy; the country is entitled to know just what its sons are doing as they give their lives at its behest. We are aware, of course, that the higher regular army officers are opposed to it. They have crushed out the old National Guard and destroyed the regiments of which cities and States were so proud. They are deliberately trying so to mix up units and divisions that there will be no room for territorial pride or rivalry—although this policy runs counter to that of all our allies and of our enemies. If it is to prevail, then there is all the more reason why we should be told if the 367th or the 9th or the 201st United States Regiment has led the advance or paid the price of a stubborn defence. The American people, we are convinced, do not desire an anonymous war; they want to honor their sons and to follow their deeds.

For a Durable Peace

AN interesting and thoughtful suggestion as to the conditions of a lasting peace is put forward by the well-known economist, Dr. C. W. Macfarlane, in his book, "The Economic Basis of an Enduring Peace" (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co.). Premising that Germany must first be beaten to her knees as a preliminary even to discussing peace, he states his thesis in these words:

> It is not common language, literature, and traditions alone, nor yet clearly defined or strategic frontiers, that will in the future give stability to the boundary lines of Europe, but rather such a distribution of its supplies of coal and iron as will prevent any one of the great nations of Europe from becoming strong enough to dominate or absorb all the others.

In other words, peace in Europe depends on the maintenance of the balance of power, and the primary element in power is coal and iron. Hence, after giving Germany a complete military defeat, the Allies must lay down terms of peace that will insure a great industrial future to England and France (especially France), and, under certain conditions, to Germany as well.

To this end, Mr. Macfarlane would turn over to France Lorraine with its beds of iron ore, and the coal fields west of the Rhine. Moreover, if there is not coal enough there to insure the industrial development of France and Belgium, "then there should be no hesitation about expropriating the Westphalian coal field." Under these conditions, if France and England will develop the food-producing possibilities of Africa, and will dig tunnels under the

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Channel and the Strait of Gibraltar, they will, with coal, iron, and food assured independent of ocean transport, be in an impregnable position. The treatment to be meted out to Germany will depend on her frame of mind, which, however, we are given no formula for determining. A "repentant" Germany, this writer suggests, might find compensation for her lost coal and iron provinces in the minerals and metals and food-producing areas of Turkey and Asia Minor. In this particular he disagrees specifically with M. Chéradame, though agreeing with him as to the necessity for the complete military defeat of Berlin. If Germany continues "unrepentant," then apparently she must remain permanently bound in poverty and outer darkness. Such an outcome, however, would clearly upset the balance of power demanded. Hence the solution is actually conditioned on German "repentance"—that is, we suppose, renunciation of the idea of dominance by military force.

Probably few of our readers will altogether agree with the contentions of this book. Yet it emphasizes an aspect of the war which has received far too little attention in this country. We have been busy thinking in idealistic terms of democracy, self-determination, and other phrases that may mean much or little according to their use, as Brest-Litovsk has shown too well. Meanwhile we are sufficiently assured that Berlin and responsible Germany are not neglecting the economic side of the questions at issue. Indeed, as Professor Rogers points out on another page, German concern over the economic outcome perhaps offers even now a possible means of hastening the end of the conflict on terms satisfactory to the United States and her allies. From this view Mr. Macfarlane dissents sharply, insisting that we must not talk peace until the armies reach Berlin. The *Nation* agrees heartily with Professor Rogers that it is desirable to make simultaneous use of all the weapons in our hands, not the military arm alone. We agree with him that now is the time to formulate and offer Germany an economically "fair" peace in return for her assent to our indispensable conditions. While we heartily agree with Mr. Macfarlane that durable peace is impossible without a proper economic adjustment, we are unable to endorse his formulation of such an adjustment.

Our main criticism, however, is directed to a more fundamental point. The major premise of the work is that peace is to be maintained by establishing an economic balance of power. This we believe to be wholly mistaken. Peace is to be maintained, if at all, by the establishment and maintenance of certain psychological conditions, strange as it sounds in these days to say so. Economic "fairness," so far as it concerns permanent peace, is of importance primarily as it affects that psychology. Peace is not to be assured by making any nation or group of nations so strong that no other will dare attack it. That has been tried for generations and has failed miserably. Nor can peace be assured simply by making one righteous league, so strong as to overawe all dissidents. Too much of the propaganda for the League to Enforce Peace has rested on this assumption of peace through machinery. And our author errs in looking at material conditions, rather than psychological.

This error is the more remarkable because he emphasizes the necessity for spiritual change in Germany and points out the clash that is occurring there between the older agricultural feudal psychology and the newer industrial democratic way of thinking. As we have pointed out, his own solution is really predicated on the triumph of the latter. But if we admit the possibility of such a change in popular psychology, then we must go farther. In so far as wars are due to economic causes, they spring in modern times not from great mass movements of peoples seeking fresh hunting grounds or agricultural lands, but from the activities of individual capitalists and groups of capitalists seeking better investment fields and markets. Surely, then, instead of striving to make these rival national groups keep the peace by maintaining an economic balance of power, our best hope lies in setting the numerically great popular interest in peace within each nation off against the relatively small interest in war. The impossibility of any such solution has lain in the common assumption that the prevailing German psychology is that of predacity and subjection. If, as Mr. Macfarlane indicates, this condition is in process of being overcome by the operation of industrial forces, then our effort at the settlement ought to be directed towards disarmament, free trade, the international control of investments, and world organization. These arrangements, as opposed to an economic balance of power, will furnish the conditions most favorable to binding in chains the forces of individual greed the world over, and making effective that will to peace on which we must ultimately depend.

Women and British Industry

GREAT BRITAIN'S experience with employment of women in industry to replace men, since the war's beginning, should be of paramount interest to the people of this country. We are faced with a shortage of labor which will grow more acute as time goes on, a shortage due to withdrawal of men for service with our military forces, and to the sudden expansion of industries supplying war materials. England, after July, 1914, found herself confronted with a somewhat similar situation, which she managed to meet, to a certain extent at least, by drawing on her vast reserve of women not employed outside their homes. Of a female population approximating 23,000,000, only about 6,000,000 were engaged before the outbreak of the war in gainful occupations. During the last three years, according to the April Bulletin of the United States Labor Bureau, not less than 1,100,000 British women have entered the ranks of wage-earners, an increase of fully 18 per cent. Moreover, about 400,000 women have shifted from domestic service, dressmaking, and similar non-essential occupations to men's work. This is a remarkable showing; probably for every four men called to the colors there has been at least one woman recruited to the country's necessary industrial, commercial, and agricultural activities.

How adequately, on the other hand, women have taken the place of their men-folk cannot be easily determined. A great many over-optimistic conjectures appeared in the English press from time to time. Actual experience showed that in occupations requiring considerable physical exertion women were at a distinct disadvantage. For the maintenance of their health it was found necessary to allow them comparatively short hours and frequent rest periods. Also their work, at the beginning, was not, in point of mechanical skill, as efficient as that of the workers they replaced. Schools were early established in which women volunteers received special training to fit them for various trades. But it takes months, not days or weeks, to turn out a finished mechanic. In the munitions industries the

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women, despite their excellent numerical showing, did not always prove equal to the men. Operations had to be subdivided, no woman doing more than one, two, or at most three processes, instead of performing the whole of a complex operation. In agriculture, despite the general publicity given "lady farmers," women have not entirely lived up to expectations. Only about 9,000 of them were added to the farm workers of the United Kingdom up to the end of 1917, although many more than this shifted from women's to men's farm work. In commerce, however, and the professions, nursing, transportation, and the lighter employments, they have really borne a burden more than proportionate to their numbers.

Naturally, the problems raised by this sudden influx of women workers into industry proved legion. But most difficult of all to meet and overcome was the opposition of the labor union to what has become known as "dilution of labor." Many of the munitions trades happened to be strongly unionized, and regarded with grave distrust the introduction of untrained women and the inevitable breakdown of standards which this implied. After a series of conferences the Government finally reached an agreement with the workmen not only in the munitions factories, but also in all Government-controlled establishments. Gradually, taking those agreements more or less as models, most of the independent industries made a settlement with their employees which permitted the admission of women, though only for the duration of the war. The men who had gone into the army were to have their old places back when they returned, and the women were not to stay on except in case of a scarcity of male help. Pay was also standardized and put on an equitable basis. Only on the farms did the wages remain "distressingly low"—in 1916 about $4.87 a week. English farmers, like our own, do not consider the laborer worthy of his factory hire, and will not compete with industry for him. Hence the constant complaints of a shortage of farm workers. This may account for the comparatively small number of English women migrating to the countryside to substitute for the men gone to France.

At present, we in America are only on the threshold of this whole development. Nevertheless, profiting by Great Britain's mistakes, we ought to meet and overcome whatever difficulties arise. The chief warning from British experience seems to be in the direction of "making haste slowly." It is evidently a mistake to bank too heavily, in the beginning, on the sufficiency of women's work entirely to replace that of men. Time and training are necessary before the substitution can become effective. Meanwhile the community must carefully guard its women against overwork, bad living conditions, and underpay. Much complaint has already been made because of reluctance on the part of employers to give their female workers adequate wages for the work the latter do. Inevitably this must lead to labor troubles. Provision should also be made now against the time when peace returns and the men demand their "jobs" back. The English solution of this problem is no solution at all, and is calculated to produce nothing but industrial chaos. The thousands of women who have been earning their own living will certainly be unwilling to return to dependence on male relatives. Some legitimate means for absorbing the enormously increased supply of labor after the war must be devised, if we are not to be faced with serious unrest and disturbances as soon as the peace treaty has been signed.

Letters from Thomas Hardy to Thomas Paine

By ELBRIDGE COLBY

WHEN poor Thomas Paine, author of "The Rights of Man" and "The Age of Reason," was spending his declining years in America, reviled and persecuted for his attack on Washington, scorned by the staid and stately for his suspected irreligion, a British "radical," Thomas Hardy, one-time secretary of the much-maligned and unjustly suppressed London Corresponding Society, sent two letters overseas to Paine. It is unfortunate that the disrepute into which Paine had fallen should have so completely clouded the deserved renown of the man who gave to England what has been called "the Gospel of Liberty according to France and America," and whose active and facile pen wrote those burning words of the first *Crisis*, read before every campfire of the Continental Army, stirring the discouraged soldiers from their despair and inspiring them on the eve of the battle of Trenton: "These are the times that try men's souls!" In fact, so much has the perverted legend obscured the name of Paine that Mr. Roosevelt, in a recent book, passed him over with a slighting characterization as "the filthy little atheist" (which he was not—he was a deist); and we have been led to forget that Paine's "Common Sense" was spread through the land to such an extent that its arguments practically secured the Declaration of July Fourth, and that he was the friend and adviser of Jefferson, America's great exponent of democracy.

And so, at the end of his life, despised by those Americans whom he had so finely served, Thomas Paine must have felt a thrill of pleasure to learn that in London he was "remembered with the greatest respect, even in public meetings sometimes noticed with enthusiasm," as his friend Hardy reports; that his labor was not altogether lost even in reactionary England; that his writings were taken as a textbook by the conductors of newspapers; and that he was hailed as a "man who hath contributed so much by his pure principles and valuable writings to the enlightening of his fellowmen, removing from their eyes the political bandage which has enveloped them in darkness for ages." I subjoin the two letters from Hardy, copies of which—in Hardy's own hand—are in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 27, 818, f. 72, 73, 76).

LONDON, 15 Oct., 1807.

FELLOW CITN

I embrace this opportunity of conveying a few lines to you to inquire how you do?—and to thank you for your kind remembrances continually to me through the medium of our common friend Clio—I saw him about a week ago. He and his family are all well. He told me that he had notice of a parcel from you but had not then received it. . . . I have the pleasure to inform you that your labour is not altogether lost in this country for all the gloom that overshadows us. There are many who are silently reading and meditating on what you have written and lamenting that these pure principles are not put in practice. Some even of the conductors of what are called the minor newspapers that I am acquainted with make your writings their textbook.—It appears that your predictions will be realized before long respecting the downfall of the English system of finance.* You said in the beginning of the year 1796 that the funding system had entered the last twenty years

**The Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance.* Philadelphia. 1796. Reprinted in London the same year.

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of its existence, but you did not mean to be understood that it would continue twenty years. According to present appearances the War System will be persevered in untill the Taxing and the Funding Systems are destroyed; out of their ruins perhaps some benefit to the people may arise, for when the paper bubble breaks how are they to find money to pay their tools and instruments of oppression, the big-bellied monsters that are kind to their keepers but ferocious to their feeders, which Harrington calls the Army and Navy, another Army of Drones, the sinecure . . . placemen and pensioners, which you have shortly described in the Address to the Addressers.* One of the best little things you ever wrote is that beautiful little *Agrarian Justice opposed to Agrarian Law and Agrarian Monopoly.* There the foundation principles are laid down and most clearly described. If the people had but that, they may be said to have got all, but no such justice falls to their lot—Tyranny and oppression they have their full measure. Nevertheless there is no public complaining, no popular meetings, no county nor corporation meetings to testify against the heavy and cruel burthens laid upon the people by the ministers to support their profligate base measures. The Nation seems to be in a state of Stupor or Apathy, although the reason for activity is tenfold stronger now than it was fifteen or sixteen years ago. Whether that stillness forbodes any good I cannot say, but I fear not, for there seems to be a spirit of dishonesty, peculation and robery pervading all classes of the people. They are plundered at home by their rulers and are seemingly determined to assist their oppressors in robing and murdering the people of other nations, to use the words of a Jewish patriot—will god be avenged on such a nation as this?—The cup of their iniquity appears to be nearly full, they only want to go to war with America to fill it up—and it is the opinion here that it is resolved on they will make no concessions, unless it be to decieve. [*Sic.*] The Pitt System is still carried on by his understrapers although he is gone to his place. No reform of parliament—that day is past—untill it is reformed with a vengeance—I saw that excellent man your old friend Major Cartwright the other day, even he despairs of parliamentary reform although he has been hoping against hope till very lateley—I have this day seen Thomas Walker of Manchester an intelligent Worthy man and a firm friend to the happiness of his fellow man—he has been in London above a year and I have had the happiness of his conversation two or three times a week ever since—he desired me to give his very best and kindest respects to you—you perhaps remember that he was chairman of the Revolution Society when you gave us a toast The Revolution of the World. Mr. Tooke I saw about two months ago (he is as well as he has been for some years past troubled with gout) at Wimbledon next to Harry Dundass but they are not more sociable than they used to be—There are a great number of political pamphlets published here but none of them that I can mention to you that is particularly interesting—partly squabbles—accusing and abusing each other about the division of the plunder which you will have a specimen of from the inglish Newspapers and from a Weekly Register published by that Camelion Wm. Cobbet who is incessant in his scurrility of the Americans—that fellow had the impudence to turn democrat about three or four years ago. Since his conversion he was the only political writer that was at all noticed—but since he has begun to show the cloven foot again he is despised by many of his greatest admirers and friends. He does not appear to be that steady friend to the happiness of mankind which we was willing to give him credit for. He seems to be destitute of good principle—He has just now purchased an Estate [in] Hampshire for twenty thousand pounds from the profits of his Register of which he sells about six thousand a week but the number is now decreasing.

Do you know Richard Dinmore from (Warwick or Norwich?) now in Alexandria? or rather his letters are dated from that place which I have read with pleasure in the Monthly Magazine—I have a respect for him from the little that I personally know of him as well as for his "Brief Account of the moral and political Acts of the Kings and Queens of England" published in the year 1793†—George Staley and John Lovat if you have an opportunity of seeing any of them please to convey my good wishes to them. The philanthropist Wm. Bosville is well, I saw him last week—I might go on to enumerate a great many private friends who still hold fast their integrity—I do not at present recolect any that you were acquainted with that have swerved from the true political faith—Sir Francis Burdett I believe you was not acquainted with—he is become the popular man and I think very justly—he is a worthy man and of the strictest integrity straightforward friend to freedom, consequently he has an host of placemen and place hunters to oppose. Cobbet formerly abused him but within this four years he has supported him and I believe in a short time he will again abuse him for I am persuaded when the parliament meets Sir Francis will reprobate the measures of ministers respecting America and Denmark. Cobbet in course will be against him to be consistent—I must now conclude this with my sincere wish that you may live in health and happiness many years till you have the pleasure of seeing or hearing that your native country is renovated, which you have so indefatigably endeavoured to effect. Thos. Hardy.

To Thomas Paine.
New York, 15 Oct^{r} 1807.
At Mr. Hitts-Baker—Broom st. Bowery Road—New York.

The second letter was written on the clean side of a letter about measuring a young man for a pair of shoes and addressed to "Mr. Hardy, 161 Fleet St." with the postmark, Aug. 10, 1807.

12 *March* 1808.

To Mr. Paine.

Dear Citizen—I have the pleasure of introducing to your Acquaintance the bearer of this a particular friend of mine William Robertson from Glasgow who is very desirous of paying his respects personally to that man who hath contributed so much by his valuable writings to the enlightening of his fellow men removing from their eyes the political bandage which has enveloped them in darkness for ages by the craft of kings and priests—On the 13th of last Oct^{r} I sent you a letter to the care of Mr. G. Lewis of New York—If you have not rec^{d} it be so good to enquire of Mr. Lewis if he rec^{d} his Brother's Oct^{r} packet if he did receive it your letter was inclosed. I should be much pleased to receive from you a few lines acknowledging the receipt of that letter when you have a convenient opportunity—I frequently see some of your old acquaintances and I will not say that we merely do not ferget you but that you are remembered with the greatest respect, even in public meetings you are sometimes noticed with enthusiasm when your name is mentioned—an instance of this kind occured about three weeks ago at the Crown and Anchor Tavern the Anniversary Dinner of the Freeholders (Middesex) Club—After Mr. Jennings (who was Chairman) had left the chair there was a general cry of Hardy in the chair—The first toast that I gave after I took the chair was *the Rights of Man*—the next was Thomas Paine which was drunk in the manner I have before mentioned—Our great men are still playing the old game—"Ride and Tie" only they are riding a little party which proves that they are determined to get soon to the journey's end and—according to present appearances it will not be long before they arive at it—The distress and calamity in this country is already great. What will it be in a year or two after this if our rulers persist in their wicked measures—and persist I think they will—perhaps it may be ultimately for the advantage of this country and for mankind that they should destroy their own corrupt system with their own polluted hands.

Accept Dear Citizen my best wishes for your health and happiness. [Not signed.]

The fate of Paine is, perhaps, too well known. Had he been in London instead of in America, he might have avoided the pious mobs who hissed him out of Trenton and the disgusting, imp-adorned caricatures of himself that were placarded on convenient and conspicuous fences. He might even have lived to have said with Hardy, many years later

*London: Printed for H. D. Symonds, No. 20, Paternoster-Row. 1792.

†This is a new attribution of this pamphlet, published anonymously: *A Brief Account of the Moral and Political Acts of the Kings and Queens of England, from William the Conqueror to the Year* 1688. *With Rejections, Tending to Prove the Necessity of a Reform in Parliament.* London: Printed for H. D. Symonds, No. 20, Patternoster-Row, and J. Ridgway, York-Street, St. James's-Square. 1793. Octavo. Pp. xiv+1—281.

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(letter from Hardy to J. C. Hobhouse, 2 April, 1831, Add. MSS., 36,, n. 66, f. 309):

I am much pleased with the present government. I believe them sincere and will be active in their exertions to effect that great measure [Parliamentary Reform]. You perhaps will smile when I say that I am now for the *first* time a Ministerial man. I think they deserve the support of every man possessed of common sense and honesty in the nation. I rejoyce greatly to see the great cause of Civil Liberty prospering not only in this country, but all over Europe, and that I have lived so long to witness it. Having now entered on the 80th year of my journey of life on the 3d of last March and now I am near 37 years older than it was decreed in the Privy Council of erring mortals that I should be [Referring to the indictment and trial of the radicals, or "Twelve Apostles of Liberty," as they were called, in 1794]. It is realy [*sic*] an extraordinary change, or revolution that has taken place in this counry—*The King* and *his Ministers turned Parliamentary Reformers!* They are committing the very same crime, if crime it be, that the Pitt and Dundas infamous government charged the reformers in the year 1794 with, the highest crime known in our laws, *High Treason,* and tried some of them for it. But an English Jury had a very different opinion of the criminality of their conduct, and honourably acquitted them.

All of this material, however, has a greater value than that of mere pathetic interest in Paine, abused in America and praised by some Londoners, and in the satisfied old age of Hardy, "an honest, God-fearing shoemaker, who," as Sheridan put it, "never dreamed how near he had come to overturning the Constitution," who saw the principles he had advocated slowly adopted. In spite of the somewhat vitiating scurrility aimed at Cobbett, these letters are interesting as showing some connection and particularly some similarity of thought between the earlier radicals, Horne Tooke, Hardy, John Thelwall, and Holcroft, and the later ones, Hobhouse and Sir Francis Burdett. Godwin, for instance, friend of these agitators of the 1790's, was granted a sinecure by this same Government which Hardy found himself praising. There was tradition behind the movement for the Reform Bill, as well as contemporary discontent.

America and the Economic Weapon

COLLEGE
BEREA, OHIO

By LINDSAY ROGERS

IN the face of the German consolidation of eastern Europe and the desperate bid for a military decision on the western front, it seems futile to discuss any weapon other than force. The moment is, as President Wilson said in his Baltimore address, one of "utter disillusionment"; "force, force to the utmost" is an answer that must be made. Yet it is not the only answer. Even the Germans themselves recognize that the success of their armies will not bring them the victorious peace they seek; that cannot be achieved so long as the control of vastly superior and indispensable economic resources remains with the Allied Powers. General von Freytag-Loringhoven, Quartermaster-General of the German armies when the war began, and author of a much-discussed book on the conflict, would hardly underestimate the value of military successes. He, however, has frankly admitted that the conquest of whole kingdoms, which at one time would have been decisive, or even victory on one front, has not brought success appreciably nearer; he recognizes that the economic situation governs the military situation. Naumann, the prophet of a Mittel-Europa, economically independent, is now espousing the principle of international free trade, and all parties in Germany seem willing, even eager, to bargain territory for economic concessions.

Have the Allies attached sufficient importance to the economic weapon that they possess? Should they make use of it, not to carry on an economic war after the war or to threaten post-bellum reprisals if Germany does not agree to a satisfactory peace, but to formulate and announce a complete and fair economic programme that may persuade Germany to make peace in the immediate future—a peace that will realize the essential aims of the Entente Powers? Mr. Wilson's speeches on war aims have attempted to convince the German people that they have nothing to fear from a victory of the Allies, but his declarations have been vague on the question of economic arrangements after the war. To be sure, Mr. Wilson's reply to the Pope took a stand against the retaliatory policy of the Paris economic resolutions, but the European Allies have never definitely repudiated those measures; his address of January 8, 1918, declared for "the removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance," while his message of December 4, 1917, asking for a declaration of war against Austria-Hungary, suggested that if the German people were, after the peace, compelled to live under "ambitious and intriguing masters," it might be impossible, for a time, to admit them "to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace." But these promises of no economic war after the war with a chastened Germany have not touched the problem.

No one now doubts that economic policies will play a decisive part in reconstruction after the war, as concerns both the rehabilitation of national life and the organization of the world to preserve peace. The shortage of food, raw materials, machinery, and shipping will be acute; there will simply not be enough to go around, and when peace is restored rigorous state control will be necessary for a very considerable period. Non-interference by governments will be impossible, and it is entirely likely that an international commission—certainly well-defined agreements—will be required to allocate the needed supplies and determine the processes of reconstruction. Self-preservation will require the Entente Allies to prevent *laissez-faire* in their commerce for some time. Independently of these considerations, various schemes to enforce peace in the future urge that economic pressure be used to compel the submission of disputes to an international tribunal or to require compliance with its decrees, and in the international commission that will be necessary to allot foodstuffs, raw materials, and shipping will be found the germ of a real league of nations.

Germany has much more to fear from this period of transition than have the Allies, whose economic arrangements will probably be successful in preventing suffering and internal disturbances. But that Germany will be well-nigh prostrate on account of the exhaustion of her supplies, and that inability to replace them would be very serious indeed, is clearly shown by unmistakable evidence. Admiral von

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Tirpitz, arguing, to be sure, for an indemnity, declared (London *Weekly Times*, December 7, 1917) that at the conclusion of peace Germany's war industry would be small; that the soldiers would return to find insufficient work, enormously increased prices, intolerable taxation, and a depreciated currency. Most of the necessary raw materials and food supplies would have to be brought into Germany from countries outside her middle-European *bloc*. "Can any one in his heart of hearts," he asked, "really believe that under these circumstances, without an increase of power, without an indemnity, without security, we could avoid Germany's ruin?"

Of no more significance, but of greater authority, perhaps, is the opinion of Dr. Dernburg. Writing last June on the occasion of the conference of the Economic Associations of Germany, Austria, and Hungary at Budapest, Dr. Dernburg gave it as his opinion that Germany had much to fear from the peace. The Central Powers, he said, had used their natural resources to a greater extent than the Entente, facilities for transport had been largely reduced, and following the war there would be an immeasurable hunger for raw materials that could not be quickly satisfied. Raw materials would be demanded to replace the property that had been destroyed, for storage purposes, and to satisfy the natural demands of the civilian population. The goods, if obtainable, must be paid for either by exports which could not be large enough to suffice, in gold which would not be available, or in credit, the sources of which in other countries had been impaired by war loans. He did not mention, as he well might have done, that the Allies would not have any great desire to furnish credit to Germany. To Dr. Dernburg it seemed that the Government would be compelled to keep a large part of the raw materials from the civilian population, to work them up in the form of exports, and thus gradually to arrive at an equilibrium. A long period of transition, however, must be looked for; financial and industrial problems would be acute:

> The Governments, which must for a long time to come remain equipped with great powers after the pressure and strain of war have ceased and the measures for curbing public discussion have necessarily been laid aside, will be able to surmount these difficulties only if they can rely on the active help of the whole of their peoples; that is to say, after they have satisfied the justifiable political ambitions of their citizens for a share in responsibility and decisions.

The Reichstag resolutions of last summer—the most liberal expression of peace sentiment that has yet come from the German Government—put economic considerations in the forefront of the discussion by declaring against any schemes that aimed at the creation of "economic isolation after the war"; only economic peace could prepare the ground "for the friendly intercourse of peoples." Unsatisfactory as this was, it represented a desire to bargain territory in the West, even to grant concessions in Mittel-Europa, for overseas trade and raw materials. Germany had viewed the Paris resolutions with anger, but not with genuine alarm. Then (1916) the economic question was one of *markets* rather than *raw materials*, and it could be faced with some equanimity on the basis of a monopoly of the trade with eastern Europe and the European neutrals. But after the entrance of the United States, China, Brazil, and other states hitherto neutral, controlling, with the nations previously arrayed against Germany, all the trading routes and all raw materials of any importance, the situation was materially changed. Hence the extreme concern displayed by Germany as to economic arrangements after the war and the admission, even by her arch-militarists, that the economic situation controls the military situation.

The economic weapon is now being used, with what success we do not know exactly, to enforce the *war* aims of the Allies. Its full power, exerted sooner, would in all probability have radically changed the course of the conflict. Enough reliable information has come from Germany to encourage the belief that there is real suffering on account of the lack of foodstuffs, and no matter what supplies are obtainable through the exploitation of conquered territories, tea, coffee, cocoa, and fats cannot be secured so long as the Allied blockade lasts. But of greater importance than this is the fact that Mittel-Europa cannot furnish sufficient quantities of such raw materials as cotton, wool, silk, rubber, leather, and vegetable oils, and minerals such as tin, nickel, and copper. And so long as the Entente Powers allocate the available supplies among themselves—even the maintenance of the naval blockade is not essential—the situation cannot be improved. The Allies, so to speak, have a grip upon Germany's windpipe that will probably not strangle her, but so long as they maintain it, she will be unable to recover her strength. Her Mittel-Europa empire could furnish *markets*, but it cannot furnish essential *supplies;* nor has the situation been materially changed by the separate peace with Russia. This—not to mention Germany's precarious finances and the vital question of credit—accounts for the fact that economic considerations were given much greater prominence in the peace offers of 1917 than in those of 1916. Hurling men against the British and French lines has the ultimate motive of wringing economic concessions from the Allies; a settlement that will enable Germany to secure food and raw materials and credit is of fundamental importance to her, and as yet, however much Mr. Wilson has talked about peace terms, the Allies have not made use of their economic weapon to compel the acceptance of the principles and readjustments that they deem essential.

To make use of the economic weapon does not mean that Germany will be permitted, as her Chancellor expressed it last July, "by means of an understanding and give and take (*Ausgleich*) to guarantee the existence of the German Empire upon the Continent and overseas." Bargaining economic concessions for territory would not spell the defeat of the German philosophy; the terms that the Allies can accept are well-nigh absolute. Nor would it be advisable, were it indeed possible, to threaten economic reprisals of a definite character unless the Central Powers agreed to minimum terms by a certain date. This proposal can be approved only on the theory that acceptance would follow, for refusal would commit the Allies to a war after the war that would make impossible their fundamental war aim—the organization of the world for peace—and would justify Germany in her contention that the Allies aimed at her destruction as a commercial power.

No; the use of the economic weapon can be attempted only by definitely repudiating the Paris resolutions and making it clear to Germany what she can expect during her most difficult period of transition after the conclusion of peace; to proclaim that if Germany agrees to a settlement that will mean "restitution, reparation, and security for the future," if she will renounce her reliance on force and her eastern empire and enter a league to preserve peace, there will be no economic blockade enforced against her;

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she will get her share of the shipping, foodstuffs, raw materials, and credit that will require strict apportionment.

In time of war prepare for peace is an altogether valid maxim. The Allies would do well to lay now the foundation for the organ of control that must regulate the problem of supplies after the conclusion of peace; they would thus be safeguarding their future and would be creating a much more adequate beginning for a real League of Nations than the Inter-Allied War Council which, it has been said, furnishes the germ for such a development. These economic arrangements must include concessions for Germany. Something will have to be done in this direction on humanitarian grounds and in order to prevent the abandonment of the internationalism for which the Allies are fighting. More than this, neutral sympathy cannot be overlooked. It is with the Allies by reason of Germany's methods of making war; it will remain so only if the settlement is a fair and just one that promises to be permanent.

To announce a definite programme of fair treatment for Germany, then, is the proper use of the economic weapon; for no matter what success attends her armies, she cannot win so long as the Allies control the economic situation. To concede in advance the fair treatment that the Allies must grant to a Germany agreeing to a satisfactory peace, is merely a development of the diplomacy that Mr. Wilson has been using in his appeal to the German people and Austria-Hungary to break loose from the military party; and it might not be without its effect on the reason, if any is left, of the military party itself.

Foreign Correspondence

Cataloguing a Nation

London, April 16

IN peace time the resident in the British Isles suffers little from the importunities of the statistician and the card-indexer. Birth, marriage, death—these are the incidents of an Englishman's personal career that require registration, apart from the decennial census and the annual inquisition of the income-tax collector.

But the war has brought with it a series of new and exigent demands. Nowadays no one is so obscure as to evade being docketed and labelled. The novel process began, of course, with the enemy alien, who was compelled, immediately on the outbreak of hostilities, to make a declaration of his unfortunate status. Since January, 1916, the friendly alien also has been under an obligation to enroll himself as such and to notify the police whenever he changes his address. A corresponding duty has been laid upon all proprietors of hotels and boarding-houses. Under pain of heavy fine or imprisonment, they are now required to keep a register, in which the name of every alien visitor has to be entered, together with particulars supplied by the visitor himself on a prescribed form. Even guests who are British subjects have to answer a schedule of questions, though in their case the information demanded is not so detailed.

As the war went on and its needs developed themselves in unexpected directions, the tentacles of the official registrar spread themselves more widely. Some time ago, for instance, when the rate of exchange began to go so seriously against this country, the possessors of foreign securities were required to make a revelation of their holdings. The English business man, especially, has had to submit to an unprecedented series of investigations. Not only are licenses required nowadays for starting any new retail business—including the publication of a newspaper—and for engaging in certain kinds of import and export trade, but the commercial world has to report from time to time many other transactions that previously no official eye attempted to pry into. Perhaps the Government wishes to ascertain the resources of the country in some particular commodity, and there is straightway issued an Order in Council calling upon every trader in this article to declare the amount of his stocks. One of the most notable departures from the old régime of *laissez faire* was the passing of a statute providing for the registration and publication of the real names of all persons carrying on business under an assumed or trade name or title. In the case of a business corporation, the names, addresses, and nationality of all directors have to be registered and published. In war time there is no doing anything in a corner. Lately, the introduction of the compulsory rationing system has led to the compilation of a record which is, in effect, nothing short of a grand national register of food retailers and their customers. Every one who either sells or buys sugar or meat, whether in the biggest industrial centre or in the most retired hamlet, has his or her name somewhere on this list. It would now be possible, at a moment's notice, to extract from the official archives a complete directory of the traders in these commodities in all parts of great Britain.

The most far-reaching interference with traditional rights of keeping one's own affairs to oneself was the provision made by the National Registration act of 1915 for the enrolment of almost the whole population. That measure required every resident between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five, as well as every visitor to the country between those ages who was staying for more than twenty-eight days, to fill up a form giving his or her name, place of residence, age, matrimonial status, number of dependents, profession or occupation, name and business address of employer and nature of employer's business, and nationality. In return for the furnishing of these particulars, each person was to receive a certificate of registration. Every change of address was to be notified within twenty-eight days. When this law came into force, the compilation of the registers in which this information is preserved proved to be a very large addition to the duties of local officials, and in some comparatively small municipalities the task of keeping the register up to date has taken up ever since the whole time of an extra clerk.

The particulars obtained by this national registration were used as the basis of the successive calls to military service that were made when conscription was introduced a few months later. The registration certificate has further served the purpose of a sort of certificate of identity, which its holder finds it convenient to keep about his person if he happens to be travelling away from home.

The provisions of this act were made much more drastic by an amending act which came into force a few weeks ago. Its operation now extends, not only to all persons who were between fifteen and sixty-five in August, 1915, but to all male persons who thereafter reach the minimum age. Henceforth, not only a change of address, but a change of occupation, has to be officially notified, and the notification has to be made within fourteen days instead of twenty-eight. The time period is similarly halved in the case of persons arriv-

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ing in the United Kingdom from outside. Again, every employer who takes into his service any male person between the ages above mentioned must require this employee to produce his certificate of registration, and, failing its production, must inform the local authority accordingly. The clause in the amending act which has attracted most attention is one which requires every male person, on demand by any police constable or any person duly authorized by the Director-General of National Service, either to produce his registration certificate or to give particulars of his name, address, age, and occupation. In peace time it would have been quite impossible to get any such clause through the House of Commons, but the paramount claims of the prosecution of the war have been held to justify even so startling an increase of police authority over the private citizen.

In the concluding chapter of his "English Constitution," written about fifty years ago, Walter Bagehot noted that one of the "most curious peculiarities of the English people" was its dislike of the executive government. "We look on state action," he said, "not as our own action, but as alien action; as an imposed tyranny from without, not as the consummated result of our own organized wishes." He quoted in illustration "a very sensible old lady" who, at the census of 1851, complained to him that "the liberties of England were at an end." If Government might be thus inquisitorial, if they might ask who slept in your house or what your age was, what, she argued, might they not ask and what might they not do? No one who was an old lady in 1851 can have survived until 1918, so, happily for her peace of mind, this objector to the census has been spared the fate of witnessing the introduction of a much more minute and intimate inquisition. The act of 1915 was intended, according to a definite statement in its final clause, to remain in force "during the continuance of the present war and no longer." One may reasonably doubt, however, whether it will be repealed when peace returns. In normal times the Government is likely to find a complete national register of this kind too valuable to be scrapped. The police will certainly wish to retain the assistance that a perpetual record of addresses will give them in the detection of crime. And who knows whether a Labor Ministry will not some day utilize this register in putting into force, as a practical policy, the apostolic principle that "if any will not work, neither let him eat"?

HERBERT W. HORWILL

The Horses of St. Mark's

By RICHARD BUTLER GLAENZER

NEVER can Brandenburg become your home,
Krupp steel shall never make you ford the Rhine,
Horses of bronze which rode with Constantine
Across rough seas to grace his Hippodrome!
Though brutal hordes return to honeycomb
Venice with acid hate, to undermine
St. Mark's because their god is Frankenstein,
You are as safe as light elves are from gnome.
Time has revised the conquests you were cast
And gilded to commemorate. Such hands
As framed and forced your travel-trophied past
Have lost the trick of absolute commands.
No part of Germany can be your stall:
Ride on, ride on! Your empire knows no fall!

Correspondence

Elizabethan Black Bread

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In support of Chaucer's contention that "there is no newe thinge that is not olde," the following quotation from Harrison's "Description of England" (ed. 1586) may be of interest to enforced eaters of coarse bread:

> The bread throughout the land is made of such grain as the soil yieldeth, nevertheless the gentlemen commonly provide themselves sufficiently of wheat for their town tables, whilst their household and poor neighbors in some shires are enforced to content themselves with rye or barley, yea, and in time of dearth, many with bread made either of beans, pease, or oats, or of all together and some acorns among, of which scourge the poorest do soonest taste, since they are least able to provide themselves of better . . . and therefore it is a true proverb, and never so well verified as now, that "hunger setteth his first foot into the horse manger." If the world last a while after this rate, wheat and rye will be no grain for poor men to feed on.

Thirty years later the poor men or their descendants had apparently learned content with such rough fare; for Fynes Moryson records in his "Itinerary" (ed. 1617):

> The English husbandmen eat barley and rye brown bread, and prefer it to white bread as abiding longer in the stomach, and not so soon digested with their labor, but citizens and gentlemen eat most pure white bread.

ELIZABETH DEERING HANSCOM

Smith College, May 3

The Government of Harvard

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In connection with your comment on the nominations for the Board of Overseers at Harvard, will you permit a few remarks by a graduate who is neither a banker nor a lawyer nor in any way connected with "big business," but who has voted pretty regularly for some twenty-five years?

(1.) A glance at the list of the men who have been Overseers during this period shows a remarkable number whose reputation has been more than local.

(2.) The University has been exceedingly well managed under two presidents, and has prospered.

(3.) A man who had demonstrated his ability in the management of a successful bank or other business enterprise, or had "made good" in some other field, would certainly seem to the average man eminently fitted to assist in managing a great University. This opinion appears to have been justified.

(4.) The idea that a man should be chosen because he held this or that opinion about social conditions would appear to be as unfortunate as to choose him because he belonged to some religious sect, or to a particular political party.

(5.) As to the so-called "liberal" clubs to which you look for a new kind of Overseer—they seem to the outsider to be the creation of certain socialistically inclined gentlemen whose chief characteristic would appear to be intolerance towards those who do not share in their opinions.

(6.) The writer has great confidence in the sound common-sense of the average Harvard graduate whether it be

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in the election of Overseers or in other matters; and common-sense is a quality of which we stand more than ever in need in these unhappy days. WILLIAM N. BATES

Philadelphia, April 27

[We have never denied the ability of many past Overseers of Harvard. But we do insist that it is no more wise to have the bulk of the Board composed of financiers and corporation managers representing one point of view than it would be to have it composed chiefly of lawyers or doctors or college professors or Single Taxers. The Board has not been representative of all the alumni in the past. It should be made so in the future.—ED. NATION.]

Unrehearsed Screaming

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Having been present at the first performance of the "Golden Cock" in New York and read a number of the criticisms of the daily press, I notice with much satisfaction that your paper states that "the Metropolitan manager insured a performance for New York audiences which, while it doubtless fell short of those given abroad on the terpsichorean side, probably surpassed them to the same degree on the vocal side.

Leaving out of consideration the dancers who mimed the principal parts, the corps de ballet was wofully poor, such as would not be tolerated in any capital of Europe or in any of the first-class cities of Italy during the ballet season. When the warriors' spears followed one another, instead of all pointing in one direction, the failure was just as gross as if a false note had been struck by the orchestra, for in a ballet it is important that the eye be satisfied as well as the ear. The music completes the picture presented on the stage and cannot be thoroughly enjoyed unless the latter be perfect. For that failure there is but one explanation, lack of rehearsals.

New York is justly proud of its opera. Before the war, if we except Petrograd, there was no opera house in the world that could in any way approach the galaxy of singers gathered at the Metropolitan. The orchestra and chorus also are as good as possible, but all that wonderful material stands great chances of being wasted through lack of proper rehearsals. Your critic does not mention the performance of "Cavalleria Rusticana," which preceded the "Golden Cock." In this production at times the lack of rehearsals was even more evident. Tenor, soprano, and orchestra were seldom in true accord. There seems a real ground for useful fault-finding which may get an abuse corrected.

The great artist who now makes "la pluie et le beau temps" at the Broadway Opera House has always had a faulty production of high notes, and certainly gives to-day the impression that he is forcing them. Whether or not it be due to his example, the fact is that nearly all artists at the Metropolitan seem to think that it is necessary to scream. In the performance referred to, even Mme. Barrientos was not free from that fault in her duetti with the tenor, and the only artist who entirely limited himself to singing was the baritone De Lucca. Cannot a campaign of education be started against those two evils which will mar any performance, lack of rehearsal and screaming?

E. DUPLESSIS BEYLARD

San Mateo, Cal., March 26

History and International Friendship

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I sympathize with the article in your issue of May 4 on "The Teaching of History and International Friendship"; for I too have suffered under the traditional method. But Mr. Scott, in setting forth the need for reform in the teaching of history, offers no constructive policy. A programme, however, has been set forth by Mr. Charles D. Kingsley in his article on "Ethical Possibilities of the Social Studies" in the January issue of the *Standard*. In this article, the writer supports the statement which Dr. Felix Adler made some years ago urging that the schools and colleges should adopt the study of a science of nations:

> One of the conscious purposes of instruction in the history of nations other than our own should be the cultivation of a sympathetic understanding of such nations and their peoples, of an intelligent appreciation of their contributions to civilization, and of a just attitude toward them.

The value of such a policy has been actually demonstrated by the history department of the Somerville (Mass.) High School. The truth of Goethe's sentiment, "Above all nations is humanity," has been found. What if Germany's historians had followed his suggestion and had proposed the teaching of history in a manner similar to that of Mr. Scott and Mr. Kingsley? HERMAN M. WESSEL

Amherst College, May 6

The Poetic German

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: We have long been taught to regard the German as a naturally poetic creature. I append an instance, by way of proof: a news item from the *Lokal Anzeiger* which lends itself most naturally to the schools of free verse. That it is by a favorite of the Kaiser but strengthens my argument. I have added a single, final line in order that the poetic German soul, "the wonder-working German soul," may be entirely expressed:

> AMSTERDAM, May 2.—Karl Rosner, the Kaiser's favorite war critic, writing in the *Lokal Anzeiger*, says: "The famous long-range gun does not look like a gun. It is more like a gigantic gray crane. Suddenly it awakes with a violent disturbance, shaking the very tree trunks. Then a black thread is visible cutting the sky—a travelling calamity that can traverse the seventy-eight miles to Paris in three minutes. The second hand on your watch has completed its third circuit. The calamity has landed in Paris!"

The famous long-range gun
Does not look like a gun.
It is more like a gigantic gray crane.

Suddenly it awakens
With violent disturbance,
Shaking the very tree trunks.

Then a black thread is visible
Cutting the sky;
A travelling calamity that can traverse
The seventy-eight miles to Paris
In three minutes.

The second hand on your watch
Has completed its third circuit.
Calamity has landed in Paris.

Now thank we all our God.

ALFRED M. BROOKS

Indiana University, May 3

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BOOKS

Tolstoy's Diaries

The Diaries of Leo Tolstoy. Translated from the Russian by C. J. Hogarth and A. Sirnis. *Youth, 1847 to 1852,* with a preface by C. Hagberg Wright, LL.D. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $2 net.

The Journal of Leo Tolstoi (First volume, 1895–1899). Translated from the Russian by Rose Strunsky. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2 net.

IN the year 1847, when he was a lad of nineteen, Tolstoy began to keep a diary, in which he recorded not only the passing events of his life, but his most intimate reflections on problems of conduct and on such literary questions as interested him. This journal he continued, though with frequent lapses into silence, the most serious of which were during the years when he was absorbed in the composition of his great novels, "War and Peace," "Anna Karenina," and "Resurrection," until his death in 1910. The original manuscripts of the work have been deposited by the Countess Sofiya Tolstoy in the Historical Museum in Moscow, and are unfortunately inaccessible to students. But Tolstoy's friend and literary executor, Vladimir Chertkov, has undertaken the publication of the work from copies in his possession. Of his projected edition he has already issued two volumes, one including the first years of Tolstoy's diary, from 1847 to 1852, and the other a portion of the diary of his old age, from 1895 to 1899. Of these the first has appeared in an authorized translation, the second in a version that seems to have been made without the authority of the Russian editor, but which is apparently carefully executed.

One's first impression from these volumes is of keen disappointment; the books will be of great interest only to special students of Tolstoy, and will win him no new admirers. Writing with no thought of publication, Tolstoy mingled insignificant notes on his own health and on trivial events of his life with reflections and confessions that are of real value for the study of his personality and notes that were raw material for his published writings. Thus parts of the diary merely give in imperfect form ideas that Tolstoy has elsewhere developed; of the rest, some of the most valuable portions were used by Biryukov in the composition of his life of Tolstoy, and have passed from him to later biographers. The value of the published journal is then in fresh illustrations of what was already well known rather than in revelation of unknown sides of Tolstoy's character. Its usefulness is increased by Chertkov's elaborate notes.

The earlier volume is, on the whole, the more novel and interesting. The boy Tolstoy was a mixture of fine and petty traits, which he records in a somewhat calfish fashion. Thus he sets down certain "rules for card-playing." From these he passes to "rules for society":

> Always to endeavor both to begin and to close a conversation; always to seek association with men higher in the world than myself, and, even before I have set eyes upon them, to determine in what relations towards them I will stand; . . . to ask for dances at a ball only of the most important ladies; if a mistake be made, not to trouble myself about it, but to continue behaving as before; to keep as cool as possible; lastly, never to express my feelings. (P. 42.)

In contrast to such resolutions many passages point forward to Tolstoy's future greatness as a thinker on religious problems, and show his earnest though fitful aspirations for a life of self-sacrificing service:

> Read "Profession de Foi du Vicaire Savoyard." It is full of contradictions, of obscure, abstract passages, and of exceptional beauty. The main point that I have borrowed thence is conviction of the non-immortality of the soul. If for the idea of immortality there is required the idea of recollection of a former existence, we are not immortal. But my intellect refuses to comprehend endlessness at one end. Some one has said that the sign of truth is clarity. One may dispute this, yet clarity remains the best token, and thereby one must always verify one's opinions. *Conscience* is our best and most reliable guide. But where are the signs which distinguish it as a voice from other voices? For vanity speaks with equal force; an example is an injury which remains unavenged. The man whose aim is the happiness of himself is a bad man; he whose aim is the opinion of others is weak; he whose aim is the happiness of others is virtuous; and he whose aim is God is great. But does the man whose aim is God find happiness therein? Rubbish! Yet I thought these such fine thoughts! I believe in goodness, and love it; but what points me to it I do not know. Is not absence of personal advantage a sign of goodness? On the other hand, I love goodness because it is agreeable. Hence it is useful. And that which is useful for me is useful for something else, and good merely because it is good and in conformity with myself.

Several pages are devoted to his reflections, while a student at Kazan, on the "Nakaz" (Injunction) of Catherine II, a document drawn up by her as a foundation for a new Code of Laws. In it, with much acuteness, he sees mingled "two mutually contradictory elements which Catherine vainly endeavors to reconcile: . . . recognition of the need of constitutional rule, and self-love, *i. e.,* a desire to figure as the unlimited ruler of Russia."

From dreams of political reform Tolstoy was diverted by his other enthusiasms: by his work as a writer of fiction, as an educator, as well-to-do country gentleman and father of a family. For practical work in government he had no talent; his one experiment in this direction, as arbiter of the peace in 1861–62, was a failure. His philosophy of history in "War and Peace" (1863–69) is among the weakest portions of his writings. His speculation became impressive, if not convincing, only when guided by his religious doctrines of non-resistance and self-sacrifice, in "What Shall We Do Then?" (1886) and "The Kingdom of God Is Within You" (1892–93).,

During the period covered by the first volume of his diary Tolstoy wrote his "Childhood," which won him fame, and some minor sketches. A quotation from an unnamed French writer is important as it characterizes his own genius:

> Imagination is the mirror of nature; a mirror which we carry within ourselves, and in which nature is portrayed. The finest imagination is the clearest and truest mirror, the mirror which we call genius. Genius does not create; it reflects. (P. 92.)

Literary aspiration meant no more to Tolstoy than his yearnings for success in other directions, less than his striving to better his own personal life:

> The pettiness of the life worries me. True, I feel this because I myself am petty; but in me I have the capacity to despise myself and my life. There is something in me which forces me to believe that I was not born to be what other men are. Whence proceeds this? From a want of agreement, an absence of harmony, among my faculties, or from the fact that in very truth I stand on a higher level than ordinary men? I am grown to maturity, and the season of development is going, or gone, and I am tormented with a hunger . . ., not for fame—I have no desire for fame; I despise it—but for acquiring great influence in the direction of the happiness and benefit of humanity.
>
> Shall I die with the wish a hopeless one? There are certain thoughts which I do not voice even to myself. I value them so

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much that without them I should have nothing remaining. I wrote the story with zest, but now despise the effort and myself and all who will read the story. (P. 141.)

The second volume is at once more impressive in its contents and less important, since it comes from a time in Tolstoy's life already amply known to us through his own copious writings and through accounts by other men. Thus it gives rough notes of ideas that he developed in "What is Art?" and thoughts on the sex question such as he had embodied in "The Kreutzer Sonata" and the postscript to it. It contained such wise aphorisms on the writer's trade as: "The Scylla and Charybdis of artists; either understandable, but shallow, vulgar; or pseudo-lofty, original, and incomprehensible" (p. 105). It shows in full vigor the old man's iconoclastic scorn of authority:

> There is no greater cause for error and confusion of ideas, the most unexpected ones, and inexplicable in any other way, than the recognition of authorities, *i. e.*, the infallible truthfulness or beauty of certain persons, of books or of works of art. . . . The most striking instance of this error and its terrible consequences, holding back for ages the forward movement of Christian mankind, is the authority of the Holy Scriptures and the Gospels. How many of the most unexpected and remarkable absurdities, sometimes necessary for its own justification, sometimes not necessary for anything, are said and written in the text of the Holy Scriptures. . . . The same thing happens in the Greek tragedies, in Virgil, Shakespeare, Goethe, Bach, Beethoven, Raphael, and in the new authorities. (P. 128.)

Tolstoy illustrates his iconoclasm by a vehement condemnation of Aristotle and the whole Greek ethics and æsthetics. He repeats his own point of view when he states that "the harm of art is principally this, that it takes up time, hiding from people their idleness" (p. 121). Yet on another occasion he sets down an opinion that, taken by itself, might be regarded as an apology for the philosophic or æsthetic aloofness upheld by Aristotle:

> It seems strange and immoral that a writer, an artist, seeing the suffering of people, sympathizes less than he observes, in order to reproduce this suffering. But that is not immoral. The suffering of one personality is an insignificant thing in comparison with that spiritual effect, if it is a good one, which a work of art will produce. (P. 272.)

Tolstoy will admit momentary, temporary retirement from humanity for the sake of artistic creation; he condemns with his whole soul the erecting of this aloofness into an ideal.

One's final impression from these volumes is of gratitude to the editor and to the translators. The more one knows of Tolstoy's personality, the deeper is one's admiration for his sincerity, for his plenitude of gifts, for his brotherly sympathy with all mankind.

Contributors to this Issue

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Interpretations in Little

The Best Short Stories of 1917, and the Yearbook of the American Short Story. Edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company.

Tales of Wartime France. By Contemporary French Writers. Illustrating the Spirit of the French People at War. Translated by William L. McPherson. With a Foreword by Frederic R. Coudert. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

Mashi and Other Stories. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Translated from the Original Bengali by Various Writers. New York: The Macmillan Company.

Gaslight Sonatas. By Fannie Hurst. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Country Air. By L. P. Jacks. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

THAT busy student and ardent sponsor of the American short story, Mr. E. J. O'Brien, again presents the fruits of his year's labor. Apart from the twenty short stories here reprinted, with their Introduction, this volume contains "The Yearbook of the American Short Story for 1917." This "yearbook" begins with a list of the addresses of American magazines which publish short stories; proceeds with a "biographical roll of honor of American short stories for 1917"; progresses with a further roll of honor of foreign short stories printed during the year in American magazines; adds a "critical analysis" of the best books of short stories and a complete list of such books; a similar analysis of the best sixty-three American short stories of the year; a sort of roll of honor for the magazines themselves; and finally an index of all the short stories of the year—that our Rhadamanthus judges to be worth indexing. One admires the unerring instinct which enables this expert not only to segregate the twenty or the sixty-three absolutely "best" specimens in his chosen field, but by an elaborate system of single, double, and triple asterisks to grade his honors as the military authorities seem able to do. But we cannot altogether agree with his very high opinion of his own powers to distinguish what is human and organic from what is not. Five or six of the stories here reprinted "as a revelation of the best that is now being done in this field" are really human and organic, little works of an art spontaneous as well as premeditated. The rest are products of the workshop. Mr. O'Brien is an eager and aggressive champion of the short story.

However, the publishers of "Tales of Wartime France" have sufficient confidence in this critic's authority to dot their table of contents with his graduated asterisks. We trust that Pierre Mille will not be too greatly disheartened at finding himself allotted but one star of honor while René Benjamin gets two and Frédéric Boutet three. These tales as a whole are an interesting expression of the changed mood of war-time France. Almost without exception they are bathed in sentiment, full of the sense of the beauty of goodness and sacrifice, of young love and heroic death. There is hardly a suggestion in them of the satiate and skeptical mood, the sophisticated acceptance of doubt and frailty as the natural lot of men, the ironic and often acrid humor, which dominated the stories and the plays of ante-bellum Paris. France stricken by war stands in need of faith, of tenderness, of reliance upon simple things like courage, and fidelity, and unblemished love. And, as always

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to the northern eye when the Latin gives himself up to emotion, there appears here a childlike and demonstrative abandon, a sensibility unabashed, but slightly abashing to us of colder manners. Many of these tales are very slight in substance, small depositions and documents in evidence, owing their value in large part to a savor or atmosphere hardly to be conveyed in translation. This also may be said of the new group of tales, "Mashi and Other Stories," from Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Reduced to bald yet often not quite idiomatic English, his artlessness, which may for all we know be charming in the original Bengali, seems labored.

Fannie Hurst is a favorable example of the short-story writer as the American magazine has made him. She is a mistress of the post-Henry tricks: punch (as her school would say) is her middle name. She can do the quasi-philosophical introduction. Thus "Sieve of Fulfilment," a story about a mother who, after much rebellion, sends her boy off to war and finds solace in knitting for other boys, begins: "How constant a stream is the runnel of men's small affairs! . . . Dynasties may totter and half the world bleed to death, but one or the other corner *pâtisserie* goes on forever." She has the knack also of using language as if it were a fluid to be flung about with a brush instead of a texture to be woven. Shakespeare and other great ones have done this, and we feel that in their hands the method serves the language right. But it is a risky method for mere talent. It is true that a bit of verbal play like this is more than a smudge: "An alarm clock on a small shelf edged in scalloped white oilcloth ticked with spick-and-span precision into a kitchen so correspondingly spick-and-span that even its silence smelled scoured, rows of tins shining into it." But Miss Hurst's delight in this sort of virtuosity is often too much for her self-control, and she merely gambols among words—often, alas, slipping in polysyllabic and recondite terms for frankly decorative purposes. All this, however, is simply a matter of accepting the exuberant popular technique and "going it one better." Miss Hurst's stories are good stories in spite of it, because she is full of her materials, and because she is a natural story-teller. And it is to be noted that whatever her concessions to the popular manner, she has no intention of warping her studies of life to achieve the popular happy ending. Her people are the very people who have been most assiduously stultified by the cheap humor and false sentiment of the popular story-fakers: shopgirls, stenographers, floor-walkers, cabaret singers, and the like. This writer knows them, and they are too close to her heart and her imagination to be used as the puppets of a mere trickster. About the real substance of her characterization and action there is no trickery. She is still very young, and there are signs, even in this volume, of a growth in dignity and soundness of expression. At the moment, the reader who is sensitive in matters of taste may turn contentedly to such a volume as "The Country Air." If to be the editor of the *Hibbert Journal* is a slightly ludicrous thing (as has been intimated more than once by brisk persons with no nonsense about them), it appears not to entail utter stultification! Mr. Jacks is at least as much interested in humanity as in the humanities, as the best type of what we used to call "the gentleman and the scholar" has always been. These very simple and unpretentious little studies of English rustic life and character are full of quiet humor and insight—faithful to their tiny scene and thereby faithful to the greater world of human nature.

The Historicity of Daniel

Studies in the Book of Daniel. By Robert Dick Wilson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.50 net.

THIS is the first of three volumes by Professor Wilson, of Princeton Theological Seminary, in which the historicity of the Book of Daniel is to be defended. It deals with the historical questions. Unfortunately, it will convince none but those who are already convinced or who wish to bolster up their faith against the irresistible arguments of criticism. But those who desire the truth, whether it harmonizes with their preconceived opinions or not, will feel that Professor Wilson's book is not so thorough as it looks or so convincing as he thinks. He believes that he can prove the historicity of Nebuchadnezzar's campaign in the third year of Jehoiakim without attempting to relate Jeremiah 36:9, 29 to it! If the third year in Daniel 1:3 is the same as the fourth in Jeremiah 25:1, as Mr. Wilson thinks, how are we to explain the captive Jehoiakim's presence in Jerusalem in the next year? and what is the point of his anger at Jeremiah for prophesying what had already occurred? If there were two campaigns, in the third and fourth years respectively, which Mr. Wilson offers as an alternative, was Jehoiakim taken captive to Babylon twice and liberated twice? He was in Jerusalem both in the third and fourth years, or, as Jeremiah would say, in his fourth and fifth years. Is it likely that Nebuchadnezzar would have dealt so leniently with a second offender? Zedekiah's journey to the Babylonian court offers absolutely no parallel to Jehoiakim's deportation. A thorough and convincing discussion would have to deal with such questions. Nor is it enough to prove that Belshazzar was the last King of Babylon (assuming that the argument is successful), and then to say that Daniel agrees "exactly with what the monuments tell us about the situation at the time when Babylon was taken by the Medes and Persians" (p. 127). That Belshazzar should have given a banquet to a thousand of his nobles and his harem; that he should have had free use of the sacred temple vessels; that the enchanters, Chaldeans, and soothsayers should have been at his disposal; that he should have been able to reward a man by making him the third ruler of his kingdom, is altogether contrary to the monuments, for the Persians had been in control of Babylon for four months by this time. And what could be the point of Daniel's prediction that the kingdom should be given to them? It had been an accomplished fact, if not for four months, certainly for a week, since Cyrus entered Babylon and received the homage of the Babylonians eight days before Belshazzar was killed. It is incredible that Mr. Wilson should have nothing to say about all this. Again, his proof that Darius the Mede was none other than Gobryas amounts to nothing but this: since the inscriptions say that Gobryas was appointed governor of Babylon by Cyrus, while Daniel declares that Darius the Mede succeeded Belshazzar as king of Babylon, Gobryas and Darius must have been the same person; as King (?) Gobryas assumed the name of Darius the Mede. Now we know from the inscriptions that Gobryas was Governor of Babylon, and that he was in this office of Governor, under his name Gobryas, even thirteen years later, and we also know that Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, was designated King of Babylon by Cyrus!

These examples suffice. If Mr. Wilson had intended to convince critics of the historicity of Daniel, he would have

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failed. But that was not his intention. Had he not expressly stated it, we should have surmised from his use of a whole chapter for the refutation of an antiquated opinion of Farrar's, which is shared by no recent critic, that he wrote mainly for the benefit of "any wavering ones" and of conservative readers to whom he wished to show what fools these critics be, whose methods are so "illogical, irrational, and unscientific" (p. xiii). These readers, indeed, will call him blessed and welcome his book as an able and valiant defence of the faith.

Mr. Wilson's explanation of the name Belteshazzar, Daniel's Babylonian name, = Bel-lit-shar-usur, "Bel, protect the hostage of the king"—will be of interest to everybody.

Iran of To-day

Persian Miniatures. By H. G. Dwight. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. $2 net.

IN reading Mr. Dwight's charming sketches, we recall that lonely seventeenth-century factor who forwarded to the East India Company in London the Shah's request for an English "lymbner," and the staid minute containing the resolution of the Honorable Board of Directors to send a good artist, if any. In these sordid and parlous times, the ancient glory of the Īrānī too rarely finds a "lymbner," especially one in words, even though Mr. Dwight has confined his attention for the most part to the modern scene. How the pro-Christian Abbas II, or for that matter his great ancestor, would have welcomed so discerning and kindly an observer! The Persian scene for over a century has been depressing, and it is a pleasure to find a modern alchemist who is at pains to express some of the vestigial attar.

Indeed, but for his deliberate sojourn, Mr. Dwight might well have found himself sandwiched between the blind romanticism of Loti and the bilious records of a host of more recent travellers. Instead, he has given us a leisurely and understanding appreciation of an unfortunate land and its people. His sense of humor, nursed through an intimate acquaintance with the Turk, has survived to make him a worthy Orientalist. Only those who have sojourned long enough in the East, especially in the suaver regions of the Near and Middle East, to distinguish between the violent impressionism of a Kipling and the quiet, insidious charm of a life that has softened exile for missionary and trader, will know how Mr. Dwight has done his pictures justice. He has rendered the essential color and passion so rare in the modern Islamic world; and the Shiah community, it must be admitted, has never forsaken color and passion, while its passion, instead of proving fanatical, has flowered into a beautiful mysticism.

Thus in Mr. Dwight's picture of The Great Slaughter, or *Moharrem* festival, as celebrated at Hamadan, we have the Persian in his most tragic moment, far more naïve and sincere than his Indian co-religionist, and far less violent and garish. That, after all, is a matter of race and temperament, and equally true of both Sunni and Shiah, whether in Egypt or India. But the Persian has long been described as the Parisian of the Orient, and even to-day some of his mediæval glory clings with an outworn bravery. Glimpses of this charm of temperament, of this innate sense and taste for beauty and craftsmanship, are plentiful in Mr. Dwight's pages. What though the modern connoisseur goes to Paris for Persian art and to Kashmir for Persian gardens, and the reek of petroleum has smothered the old-world aromas in Persia, yet Mr. Dwight has proved an indefatigable optimist. He reads the buyers and writers of rugs a well-deserved lesson and never despairs of decadence in this traditional art of Īrān. Characters like the Sea of Sciences and the Satrap will always abound in bazaar or provincial court: at least until some inauspicious day when the Orient Express roars from Constantinople or Batum to Karachi and Calcutta.

Constructive Factors in Legislation

Standards of American Legislation: An Estimate of Restrictive and Constructive Factors. By Ernst Freund. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. $1.50 net.

THIS is a critical review of the operation of our legal system and an attempt to formulate a body of "positive principles that should guide and control the making of statutes and give a more definite meaning and content to the concept of due process of law."

The author starts with the inquiry "whether the extent of legislative power over personal and property rights not covered by specific constitutional guarantees is a legal or a political issue." He concedes that the prevailing doctrine treats it as a legal one, and thus assigns its determination to judicial authority. This view he challenges and undertakes to show that the issue is one of policy, not of "immutable legal principle." Many readers will be surprised by his citation of the Ives case in support of this contention. At the time of its decision Professor Freund did not hesitate to express his dissent. He believed that the enactment of workmen's compensation statutes was not restricted by constitutional provisions. However, he did not join those critics of the decision who contented themselves with sneering at the court as old fogies, or as the victims of class bias (p. 46). He studied the opinion carefully with a view to discovering "what theory of judicial control or of constitutional limitation it indicated." He found the court was impressed with the strength of the economic and sociological arguments in support of workmen's compensation acts, but it insisted that these arguments must be addressed to the people and not to the judges. They were so addressed, and a constitutional amendment was passed in New York authorizing this class of legislation. Now, declares Professor Freund, the Court of Appeals would not have sent this issue to the people if in its opinion the issue was one of law. The Court's view must have been that the constitutional guarantee of due process was a policy of distributive justice—"fundamental, but after all only a policy, likely to be changed by the progress of economic and social thought."

While the author insists that the extent of legislative power over rights not specifically guaranteed by constitutions is one of policy rather than of law, he is not disposed to deprive the courts of the jurisdiction which they have exercised, in guarding private rights from undue legislative invasion. His view of the leading cases in this field of constitutional law leads to the conclusion that "any apprehension of a permanent hindrance on the part of courts to any phase of legislative progress is groundless." Indeed, he fears that they will exercise their guardianship with less confidence and boldness than is desirable. "Our main reliance for the perpetuation of ideals of individual liberty must be in the continued exercise of the judicial prerogative."

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Perhaps the most original and instructive part of the book is that which deals with the constructive factors available for the improvement of our statute law. Here Professor Freund gets but little aid from the courts. Their power over statutes is exercised only by annulling them. Hence, the author finds it necessary to make a careful analysis of legislative practices in order to determine "whether our legal science has developed an adequate system of legislation."

His conclusion is that statute law, in this country, frequently violates sound legislative principle. He notes especially prohibitory laws: the indefinite penal provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust act; the defective correlation of provisions in the Interstate Commerce act and similar statutes, and the failure of our legislators to achieve the ideal of standardization. The chapter devoted to this subject is most instructive and stimulating, for Professor Freund is not disheartened by our legislative shortcomings. On the contrary, he emphasizes the existence of constructive factors already operating in our State and Federal legislation, and points to four plans for the improvement of our statute law, which are working successfully. These are "the preparation of bills by special commissions; the delegation of power to administrative commissions; the organization of drafting bureaus, and the codification of standing clauses."

Notes

"FINDING the Worthwhile in the Southwest," by Charles Francis Saunders, is announced for publication shortly by Robert M. McBride & Company. This firm continues the publication of Eden and Cedar Paul's translation of Treitschke's "History of Germany in the 19th Century" with the fourth volume, which will appear in May.

Among the spring publications of Charles Scribner's Sons are the following volumes: "Under the German Shells," by Emanuel Bourcier; "The U-Boat Hunters," by James B. Connolly. The publication of "Psychology and the Day's Work," by Prof. Edgar James Swift, which was announced for spring, has been postponed until the autumn.

In the near future the Macmillan Company will publish: "Foe-Farrell," by "Q" (Quiller-Couch); "The Christian Man, the Church and the War," by Robert E. Speer; "War Bread," by Dr. Alonzo E. Taylor.

Harper & Brothers announce the immediate publication of the following volumes: "My Boy in Khaki," by Della Thompson Lutes; "Jim Spurling, Fisherman," by Albert W. Tolman; "Food and Freedom," by Mabel Dulon Purdy; "Strange Stories of the Great River," by Johnston Grosvenor; "The Story of Our Navy," revised edition, by W. O. Stevens.

To-day Dodd, Mead & Company will publish "The Miracle of St. Anthony," by Maurice Maeterlinck.

Small, Maynard & Company (Boston) announce that they have taken over from a New York concern the publishing rights of William Stanley Braithwaite's "Anthologies of Magazine Verse for 1914, 1915, and 1916." Small, Maynard & Company published last year Mr. Braithwaite's "Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1917," so that Mr. Braithwaite's complete series of Anthologies are now issued by Small, Maynard & Company.

The Century Company will shortly publish a translation of "La Flamme au Poing," by Henry Malherbe.

A NEW anthology entitled "American Poetry," by Prof. Percy H. Boynton and several collaborators (Scribner; $2.25 net), gets an astonishing amount of text into a very wieldy and comely looking volume. The double columns are inevitable, but, though the print is small, it is not too small, and the paper does not hint too strongly of what is on the other side. The book is notable for the large amount it offers of the verse before Bryant; a "progress of dulness," maybe, if one is in a high critical mood, but nevertheless convenient to have by one now and then, and not elsewhere easily to be found. The rollicking verses of Revolutionary days take on a new interest in the present hour of peril. The critical comments at the end, which include all the necessary bibliography, are pitched just right for the mature and thoughtful lover of literature; there is no suggestion of the methodology of a schoolbook.

ONE turns with interest to the seventh edition of Professor Saintsbury's "Short History of French Literature" (Oxford University Press; $3.40), in the hope that this well-known volume may have been revised and brought up to date since the sixth edition of 1901. But the changes made are of the slightest. Another preface, some alterations in bibliographical notes, a recasting of four pages on seventeenth-century romances, and a "Postscript" practically exhaust the novelties. We have, all told, some ten pages of new matter. The author expresses his intention to stop with the nineteenth century, and that is surely legitimate; but his own interest in French literary history, objectively viewed, must have dwindled some time before, judging from the amount of modern investigation that has been left unmentioned or unused. The changes in the seventeenth century profit from Professor Saintsbury's recent studies in French fiction, his "History" of which has been reviewed in these columns. The new edition of the literature surpasses the old in containing more specifications concerning pastoral and heroic, a better reckoning with their historical position and amplitude. Chapters dealing with subsequent fiction might also have been reworked and refreshened with advantage. In general, we find ourselves confronted with what is now an old-fashioned book, which conveys the atmosphere and the controversies of the nineties. As regards the Arthurian romances, Professor Saintsbury's views go farther back still, and nothing is changed in his dislike for Boileau and Racine nor in his insistence on the romantic rather than the realistic side of the nineteenth century. The final chapters, including about four fresh pages, barely mention such moderns as Heredia, Barrès, Becque, and A. France (as novelist); and one is surprised at the complete omission of Rostand and Henri de Régnier. Yet none of these men was unknown to fame even in the past century. The deaths of Faguet and of Jules Lemaître are left unrecorded. *En revanche,* Zola and Brunetière are finished off rather judiciously. On the whole, the work has remained practically a fixed quantity since the fifth edition of 1897—and the same may be said of its author's critical attitude. But from the standpoint of the general reader, the book is still unsurpassed in English as a vivid, readable, and appreciative account of French literature, remarkably comprehensive in the number of authors included, stimulating alike in its insights and errors. Taken with caution, the volume remains what it always was, a fine, hearty, unreliable companion. So we welcome back a friend of twenty years' standing.

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PROF. A. H. CORLEY, of Yale, has the distinction of being the first to publish a South American novel as a textbook for North American students (Macmillan; $1). He has chosen for this purpose "Amalia," an historical novel portraying conditions in Argentina in 1840 under the tyranny of General de Rosas. José Mármol, the author, is better known as a politician and publicist than as a novelist. "Amalia" contains too much personal vindictiveness to rank high as art; but this thrilling story of adventure is certain to interest American youth. Americans will be gratified to read the fine tribute paid to our country's representative, Consul Slade, whose heroic conduct during those troublous times is better known to the Argentinos than to ourselves.

RALPH ADAMS CRAM enjoys, we believe, unquestioned repute as an ecclesiastical architect, but the faith and hope which the Gothic style is supposed preëminently to embody fails him when he scans attentively the modern world. His "Nemesis of Mediocrity" (Boston: Marshall Jones Co.; $1) is a gloomy arraignment, unrelieved by palliating circumstance, of present-day democracy and all its works. We have no proper leadership. "Giolitti and Caillaux, Ramsay Macdonald, Lenine, and La Follette are the synthetic product of a mechanical process of self-expression on the part of groups of men without leaders, but who must have them and so make shift to precipitate them in material form out of the undifferentiated mass of their common inclinations, passions, and prejudices." The perfect work of democracy, a dead level of incapacity, has been achieved. Things are no better with philosophy; religion has ceased to be a vital force; universal state education has failed; the mixture of races gives only a mongrel brood; and the great war is hurrying all mankind towards chaos. The one hope is President Wilson, who, if he will, "may become the coördinating, the directing, and the constructive force in the world, Arbiter of Democracy, re-creator of the true democracy of ideal"; and even he, "the most astute politician America has produced since Andrew Jackson (if not since Jefferson), with an infallible sense for apprehending the unexpressed will of a working majority," "pursued for three years the standard method of contemporary politics, gauging this will by impeccable instinct, making it his own, and so becoming the acceptable type of leader who does not lead but obediently follows on where the majority-will indicates the way." If President Wilson fails and the old order returns, all peoples must become what Russia now is. One closes Mr. Cram's provocative *brochure* with mixed emotions—and an anxious hope that the President may survive.

HARRISON C. DALE'S "Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822–1829" (Cleveland, O.: Arthur H. Clark Company) comes fully up to the standard of scholarship of the best Western historians; and as an example of research and editing with all the paraphernalia of footnotes, bibliography, and index is most satisfactory. The publishers have shown their usual care on the external appearance of the volume. The trans-Mississippi West was explored, with a few notable exceptions, by men who sought financial profits in their journeyings. For this reason those explorations which were made for scientific reasons, such as that of Lewis and Clark and those of Pike, have been given a more conspicuous place in history than would have been the case were more known of the expeditions of equally romantic and daring character that went forth from St. Louis for the purpose of trading in fur. Such was the character of the various expeditions of William Ashley and Jedediah Smith of the years 1822 to 1829, during which they explored the middle region of the mountains, in what is now the States of Colorado and Nevada. Smith was the first man to find his way by this route across the mountains to California. The new information concerning these discoveries is contained in long letters from Ashley and Smith and a journal by Harrison G. Rogers, a clerk, the originals of which are in the Missouri Historical Society of St. Louis. These are embodied by Professor Dale in a narrative of the fur-trading and exploring operations of the first quarter of the last century, which is in many ways the best review of this cycle of enterprises known to the reviewer.

IN "The Evolution of the Hebrew People" (Scribners; $1.50 net) Prof. Laura H. Wild has sought to indicate the elements that entered into the composition of the Hebrew race, making it the world's greatest religious interpreter, since it led the way to Christianity. Her treatment is suggestive, and admirably serves the purpose of starting the untechnical reader along a novel line of investigation.

PROFESSOR EISELEN'S popular introduction to the Hagiographa of the Old Testament, "The Psalms and Other Sacred Writings" (Methodist Book Concern; $1.75 net), can be heartily recommended to students of the Bible. It is written in an easy, fluent style, and presents with lucidity and fairness both sides of the questions without leaving the reader in doubt as to the author's own conclusions.

NETTLE soup, acorn bread, minnow tansies, caterpillar omelette, pickled ashenkeys and garden snails, dormouse on toast, roasted widgeon or gadwall or pochard, hawthorn salad, preserved rowan-berries and linden-flower tea; here is a menu with which no Hooverite could disagree, although the menu might possibly disagree with the Hooverite. Recipes for these and many other venturesome dishes may be found in "The Wild Foods of Great Britain" (Dutton; 75 cents), by L. C. R. Cameron, who lists 260 kinds of wild food to be gathered freely in Great Britain without offending against any law except "the somewhat easily eluded law of trespass." The tailor-made landscape of England does not suggest to us an abundance of wild food, and we are not surprised to find the hedgehog, the brown rat, and the grasshopper called upon to serve their country's table. The interesting list of edibles and their treatment are diverting enough until one finds the skylark blasphemously included. Mr. Cameron maintains that the cottager's dinner should be gathered in the vicinity by the children. Yet these recipes are hardly for the poor. He speaks not in calories and economies, but in savories. Pike, for instance, must be stuffed with veal forcemeat, basted well with butter and a glass of claret, and to the sauce in the pan should be added more butter and the juice of two or three oranges! Mr. Cameron is a somewhat irascible epicure, with no opinion of female cooks: "No Englishwoman," he insists, "has since the days of Wellington been known to boil an egg or a potato properly, except by an unavoidable accident."

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Art

A Painter of Spain

THE fine collection of Zuloagas, exhibited already in several towns, is now at the Pennsylvania Academy, Philadelphia, and it cannot be seen too often. There is inspiration in the vigor, the power, the personality of the work, a healthy reminder that modern art is not all an anæmic reëcho or a bid for independence by defiance of tradition. Fault may be found with the quality of Zuloaga's paint, the brutality of his technique, his indifference to the beauty of surface, his lack of atmosphere. But these defects are more than counterbalanced by his splendid vitality, his respect for tradition, his keen sense of character, his fearless realism, his careful study of Nature.

Some may think him blind to the facts of Nature because he seems to shirk the brilliant sun and hot skies of Spain. But he knows, as Velasquez knew before him, the snare there is for the artist in the crude sunshine of the south, and, again like Velasquez, he has invented a convention by which to express the essential truths of Spanish light and color. To compare Zuloaga's sombre, austere paintings with the garish, restless canvases of Vasquez and Zo, his contemporaries, is to understand how far more truly he renders the real Spain in its grimness, its dignity, its austerity. There is no evasion of fact in his records of places and people. His impression of Toledo on its hill is as true as if it were not merely a background to the interesting portrait of Maurice Barrès. One feels as sure of his accuracy in the curious rocky country one knows only as another fine background to another fine portrait, The Cardinal, in sumptuous scarlet robes. No less convincing is the castle that towers over town and bull ring in his Future Idols. He is as scrupulous in his treatment of detail when he chooses. Nothing could be more carefully observed and delightfully painted than the roses, the books, the strings of beads on the table in his Mme. la Comtesse Mathieu de Noailles, or the gold-embroidered collar of the blue cloak worn by the seated figure in the large group of bull-fighters. But character appeals to him more powerfully than detail, and Spain supplies character in abundance. Some of the memorable gypsies, dwarfs, and witches that made their sensation at the Salon are not here, but the series is representative without them: the beautiful women of Spain, dark and glowing, powder on their faces, fans in their hands, mantillas over their heads; the courtesans of Spain, nude, animal, with a touch of the barbaric, the primitive that saves them from vulgarity; the bull-fighters of Spain, all with ardent young faces and lithe, graceful forms, save the old Picador on the emaciated, white, blood-drenched horse, which is The Victim of the pageant as of Zuloaga's title; the peasants of Spain, lean, hard, withered by work. And there are also the landscapes of Spain, among them Alquezar, his most stately and vivid, its high castellated hill set against a romantic sky, the fresh green of trees and grass so rare in Spain filling the foreground. But in no other painting does Zuloaga's uncompromising realism seem to steep itself so completely in the poetry of paint as in the Women of Sepulveda. In the peasant dress of their region, the outer green skirt wrapped about their heads and shoulders, the three women are grouped on a rocky eminence looking far across a rocky country to the ancient walled town. Spring has spread its first thin, pale green on the fields in among the rocks, the lines of these strange rocks and of the walls and houses of Sepulveda are arranged in a barbaric pattern, the forms and faces of the women are as sad and grim as the land. Heavy clouds roll up above the low hills on the horizon. Here is Spain itself, beautiful and tragic, seen with emotion, and painted by a man who commands his medium and is not afraid of it. It is Zuloaga's fearlessness that is such a stimulant, a tonic, in these days when artists seem afraid of their own individuality—if they have any individuality to be afraid of.

It is to be noted that Sargent writes the Foreword to the Catalogue, and when Sargent writes to introduce an artist it means something. He does not, like so many critics in this country, scatter his praise indiscriminately, finding a genius in every chance painter who needs to be introduced. Only for Brabazon and one or two others, as now for Zuloaga, has he been willing to speak, but always he has spoken out of his knowledge and sympathy.

N. N.

Drama

American Life in American Plays

THE Great American Play, like the Great American Novel, is still to be written. Our playwrights, quick to catch the striking external aspects of our complicated civilization and clever at presenting them in effective dramatic form, have not yet learned to look beneath the surface of our shifting life and let the spirit that is America enter into their own; and our drama is therefore as immediately responsive to public opinion, as superficial, and as ephemeral as our daily newspapers. American playwrights too often are mere reporters. Sensational social aspects, highly colored plots, conventionalized characters are used to produce the thrilling melodramas or the brisk farces that are thus far our characteristic contribution to the drama.

New York, with its enormous population and its special public in the theatres, always responds blandly to the flattery of seeing itself depicted in the theatre; and our playwrights have always given it more than a fair share of attention. The New York of the stage is made up almost entirely of malefactors of great wealth; this year the so-called "country-house set" of Long Island and other neighboring regions, occupied chiefly in drinking, flirting, and demoralizing marriage, has come to the fore. Occasionally there are agreeable variants. A new dramatist, Mr. Robert Housum, in "The Gipsy Trail" won popular success by glorifying the spirit of youthful romance and adventure; but in the end the comfortably philistine philosophy of life prevails when the little suburban heroine, with neat, suburban ideals, finds that the seemingly ineligible chauffeur-adventurer is the young millionaire whom all good young American girls dream of marrying. Mr. Jesse Lynch Williams in "Why Marry?" also introduced a new social factor by making his hero a brilliant young scientist, struggling along on $1,500 a year, and the heroine his assistant. In "The Pipes of Pan," however, Mr. Edward Childs Carpenter opened up a new vein. Here are not only agreeable, well-bred people in New York, but, as a blessed relief from the ever-recurring bumptious young persons of our

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drama, there are a middle-aged hero and heroine actually confessing to forty. The artist, not of that frowsy Bohemia well beloved of playwrights, but a too successful portrait painter struggling to preserve his soul against the dominion of the dollar, is a new figure in American drama.

Mr. Eugene Walter has once more turned his observing eye and his journalistic intelligence to good account in his latest study of the modern parasitic woman. "Nancy Lee," by no means to be ranked as highly as his earlier, relentless picture of the frail butterfly of our great cities in "The Easiest Way," is none the less an interesting if ill-balanced play. The heroine, who lives in decorous luxury by "living on" her friends, without ever becoming guilty of conventional transgression, is one of that class depicted a few years ago in Mr. Owen Johnson's novel, "The Salamander." Mr. Walter handles his theme and his heroine without gloves. "Women are dress drunk" is his theme; and he shows Nancy running up bills and making debts as recklessly as an eighteenth-century lord until the last act, when his hero, a modern Juvenal, ceases to rail and begs for the privilege of paying her bills for life. Frederic and Fanny Hatton, in "Lombardi, Ltd.," again display their intelligence and vulgarity in another view of the importance of women's clothes in our present-day civilization. Mr. J. Hartley Manners in "Happiness," his latest successful play, written for his wife, Miss Laurette Taylor, shows still another aspect of this all-important subject. Jenny, the poor little dressmaker's apprentice, who, through all her drudgery, knows the happiness of work and has something to hope for, is a character that has almost as strong a popular appeal as the now famous Peg of "Peg o' My Heart"; and Miss Taylor's *gamine* humor and gift of character-drawing make this little errand girl, who later achieves a dressmaking shop of her own, a living, human being and a genuine representative of that struggling democracy of ours where every one tries to get out of his class. In "Business Before Pleasure," too, Mr. Montague Glass and Mr. Jules Eckert Goodman have gone straight to the heart of American life in showing their two East Side Jews, formerly in the cloak-and-suit trade, now branching out into the moving-picture business and making their easy thousands in the "fillums."

In "The Little Teacher," by Harry J. Smith, we find a new New England. Here is no longer the old 'way down East of mortgaged farms and rebellious sons or daughters going up to the wicked city to be ruined. In Goshen Hollow in the Vermont hills one is not only in the land of the Pilgrims' pride, but in the home of the French Kanuck and the revengeful Sicilian as well. Lumberjacks from Canada and Jersey City claim their place with the original Yankees; and the big-hearted, human little teacher, Emily West, who spreads warmth and love in this hard-shelled community, comes from wicked New York, and has homesick longings for "the rush hour in the Subway."

The middle-class Middle West, the backbone of our country, as we are fond of thinking it, is presented with humorous fidelity in Mr. Booth Tarkington's "Seventeen." That unspoiled Arcadia of frame houses is here shown in the first stage of yielding to the baser influences of the effete East —for do not William Sylvanus Baxter's love and tragic failure turn on the acquisition of a "dress suit"? Mr. Tarkington plainly believes not only in Indiana, but in the virtues of the whole Middle West, for in "The Country Cousin," written in collaboration with Julian Street, the lady from "Ohiuh" stands out in luminous contrast to all Long Island iniquity and even succeeds in reforming a New York snob.

Only one American dramatist, Mr. Theodore Dreiser, has shown an appreciation of that greatest of our domestic problems, the labor question. In a one-act play called "The Girl in the Coffin," he attacks with grim sincerity a dangerous subject shirked by polite playwrights, the conflict between a man's work and his love. He places against each other the claims of humanity and the claims of individual love—and presents the problem with unflinching truth. M. C. D.

Amusements

EMPIRE BROADWAY AND FORTIETH STREET
Evenings 8:15. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:15

ETHEL BARRYMORE in new 3-act comedy BELINDA

"If you don't like 'Belinda' then you don't know a delightful person when you meet one."—*Alan Dale.*

Preceded by J. M. Barrie's "THE NEW WORD"

Finance

The Rise in Stocks

THE remarkable advance on the Stock Exchange last week attracted unusually wide attention. For the interest taken in the movement, both in and out of Wall Street, there were some special reasons. To begin with, no one had been at all sure what would happen on the Stock Exchange when the subscription lists to the Liberty Loan should close.

The war situation of itself was an uncertain enough consideration; but it was only one. An immense part of the country's available capital was about to be "ear-marked," so to speak, against the three to four billion dollars payable on the war loan. Before these huge payments could have been completed, the income and excess-profits tax payments would fall due in June, and they would call for at least another $3,000,000,000 slice of capital. With the money market thus apparently tied hand and foot, there was ground for predicting a fall in stocks.

For such an expectation, Wall Street had the precedent of the market immediately following the subscription to the second war loan. The lists closed on October 27; in the following week, a movement of heavy liquidation broke out in both stock and bond markets. With trading nearly twice as large as the week before, prices of active stocks fell 5 to 12 points, the Steel shares leading, with a decline of 11¼. The downward movement was repeated in the ensuing week; it led the way to the demoralized market for December.

Why, then, did not this week's market do the same? How are we to account for a fortnight's 10 to 20-point break on the one occasion, and on the other a rise in a long list of stocks, of 4 to 12 per cent. above the previous week's closing level and of 6 to 29 per cent. above the low prices of 1918? To explain the contrast, one must look away from Wall Street.

What was the actual situation at the end of last October? Cadorna's army had just been defeated; the Austrians were invading Italy. A few weeks before, the Bolshevik cabal had seized control of Russia, with results which were even then apparent. Signs were multiplying that the railways were getting into a hopeless traffic condition, with no one able to say what action the Government would take. The shortness of the American wheat crop was known. It had just become

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clear how heavy a hand Congress would lay in its income and excess-profits taxes; no one could guess how they would be financed. On top of all, it was known that the banks had taken three to four hundreds of millions of the war bonds on their own account, and that the money market would be proportionately handicapped.

To what extent the apprehensions aroused by these events —especially the events in Europe—was warranted, every one knows. There was reason for misgiving; the November stock market was a true prophet. What, then, of the present situation? The war situation, after six weeks of great anxiety, seems at last to be turning in favor of the Allies; at any rate, Germany is pinned to her positions, has failed completely in her latest western drive, and the market, which refused to lapse into alarm in the days of Hindenburg's March and April advance, is possibly shaping its course in line with the brighter prospects.

Austria, too, seems now to be blocked on the Italian front, and if Germany has seized Russia, she is now learning that she has grasped a hornet's nest and that she cannot get the wheat for which she broke her treaty. The railroads have gone into Government control, but under auspices and conditions unexpectedly fair. The heavy tax payments are nearer now than they were in October; but at least they have been provided for. The third war loan has been closed with the great bulk of the subscription taken by individual applicants, notably in the West, and with the banks engaged on their own account far less deeply than in the second loan. On top of all, the winter wheat, for which the season was opening most discouragingly last autumn, is pushing to harvest under ideal weather conditions, with the possibility of another billion-bushel total wheat crop.

The contrast is sufficiently convincing. Whether it means continuance of this week's rapid advance in prices on the Stock Exchange is another matter. Requisitions on the money market will be very great in the next six weeks. A bumper crop will itself draw heavily on such facilities, and the drain of a speculative rise in stocks is traditionally great. But the stock market, after all, habitually reflects cheerful developments in the general situation in advance of their occurrence. The situation itself will usually go on brightening after the rise in stocks has ceased.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Published Thursdays. Owned by THE NATION PRESS, INC., OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, President. EMIL M. SCHOLZ, Publisher, Secy. and Treas.

Entered at the New York City Post Office as second-class mail matter.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, EDITOR
HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY, MANAGING EDITOR
R. B. McCLEAN, BUSINESS MANAGER
WILLIAM G. PRESTON, ADVERTISING MANAGER
ROBERT R. CLELAND, CIRCULATION MANAGER

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Four dollars per annum postpaid, in United States and Mexico; to Canada, $4.50, and to foreign countries comprised in the Postal Union, $5.00.
Address, THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street. P. O. Box 794, New York.

LONDON OFFICE: 16 Regent St., S. W.; WASHINGTON OFFICE: Home Life Building; CHICAGO OFFICE: People's Gas Building.

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Ward, L. F. Glimpses of the Cosmos. Vol. VI. Putnam. $2.50 net.

POETRY AND DRAMA

Dell, F. The Angel Intrudes. New York: Arens. 35 cents.
Oppenheim, J. Night. New York: Arens. 35 cents.
Stephens, J. Reincarnation. Macmillan. $1.
Stevens, J. L. A Dramatization of the Book of Job. Boston: Stratford.
Woodberry, G. E. An Easter Ode, 1918. Boston: Merrymount Press.
"Woodbine Willie." Rough Rhymes of a Padre. Doran. 50 cents net.

THE ARTS

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Raemaekers, L. Cartoon History of the War. Vol. I. Century. $1.50.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

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Seward, A. C. Fossil Plants. Vol. III. Cambridge University Press.

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Commons, J. R., and Associates. History of Labour in the United States. Two volumes. Macmillan. $6.50 per set.
Dunn, S. O. Regulations of Railways. Appleton. $1.75 net.
Frink, H. W. Morbid Fears and Compulsions. Moffat, Yard. $4 net.
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Cross, G. What Is Christianity? University of Chicago Press. $1 net.
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Washburn, W. I. The Holy Spirit. Putnam. $1.25 net.

EDUCATION

Hotchkiss, G. B., and Drew, C. A. Business English. American Book Co.
Roessler, E. W., and Remy, A. A First Spanish Reader. American Book Co.

THE WAR

Abbot, W. J. Aircraft and Submarines. Putnam. $3.50 net.
Alexander, H. B. Liberty and Democracy. Boston: Marshall Jones. $1.75 net.
Baker, N. D. Frontiers of Freedom. Doran. $1.50 net.
Lauder, H. A Minstrel in France. New York: Hearst's International Library Co. $2.
Liveing, E. G. D. Attack. Macmillan. 75 cents.
Lodge, O. The War and After. Doran. $1.50 net.
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Summary of the News

DURING its eighth week, the German offensive on the western front still hung fire. Heavy artillery duels continued north of the Lys, and raids southwest of Arras were successfully carried on by the British. The Germans in a strong local attack north of the Kemmel region gained a foothold at several points on the Allied front, only to lose these later in a sharp counter-attack southwest of Ypres; and their gains made at Albert were likewise later recovered by Gen. Haig's men. East of Amiens the French checked a new German thrust between Hangard and Montdidier. Minor local operations and raids, resulting in the capture of small numbers of prisoners and machine guns on both sides, and ceaseless artillery engagements were the only events of importance on the English and French fronts alike. At this writing, however, the German guns are busy on a wide front from Ypres to the lines southeast of Amiens, and a renewed heavy drive seems imminent.

ANOTHER British Cabinet crisis was brought about when Major-General Frederick B. Maurice in an open letter charged Premier Lloyd George and Chancellor of the Exchequer Andrew Bonar Law with having misstated in three instances the strength of Britain's military forces on certain fronts. The implication that the Premier had given an untruthful answer in defending his Government against the accusation of having weakened the British forces in France was so clear, and General Maurice's brusque statement that the morale of the army was being undermined at a critical time by distrust of the Government so unqualified, that the fall of the Cabinet seemed threatened. Mr. Herbert Asquith, the former Premier, moved an investigation of General Maurice's charges by a committee of the House of Commons, but after hearing Lloyd George's defence of himself the House, by a vote of 293 to 106, upheld him and the Government. He explained that the figures he had quoted were taken from the official records of the War Office, for which General Maurice himself was responsible, and suggested that the general had ignored non-combatants in the army units in pointing out discrepancies. The Premier's triumphant vindication has led part of the London press to assume that, while General Maurice acted from purely patriotic motives, he was the tool "of abler and less honorable men." But the *Daily News* insists that the charges were merely "spirited away by a trick of legerdemain," and the *Chronicle* and *Morning Post* hold that while the Premier's speech was an effective *ex parte* statement, the facts were still not established.

SECRETARY OF WAR BAKER, too, has been subjected to criticism because of alleged shortage of machine guns and the failure of the United States to live up to the expectations of England in the number of men sent to Europe, as was stated by the British Premier at the beginning of the present German offensive. Secretary Baker denied that there was any shortage of light or heavy machine guns in France or in America, and stated that more than 500,000 men had even now been dispatched to France, thus exceeding his forecast made in January. As troops are being rushed across constantly,

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a far larger number of men will be available before the end of the summer for backing up the Allied line.

INVESTIGATION of alleged mismanagement of aircraft production, mentioned last week, has now been referred to the Department of Justice by President Wilson. Gutzon Borglum, the sculptor, who has been acting as a voluntary investigator with the President's sanction, has made charges of graft and inefficiency in aircraft production, which are to be investigated by the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, under the chairmanship of Senator Chamberlain. The House Committee on Military Affairs, after examining officials engaged in carrying out plans that have gone awry, expressed themselves as satisfied that Mr. Borglum's charges were untrue. It also expressed satisfaction over the War Department's organization for aircraft production in its estimate of the billion-dollar expenditure for aviation. Of the $640,000,000 thus far appropriated, $370,000,000 have been expended and contracts for construction have been placed to the amount of $270,000,000.

ITALY continues to report intense aircraft activity on her front, with numerous patrol encounters on the Piave front. Italian troops stormed Monte Corno on May 9, when they captured a few prisoners and guns. Meanwhile it is officially announced that Italy's contribution to General Foch's reserve army in France, now being formed for the supreme emergency, numbers nearly 250,000 men.

RUMANIA has now signed a treaty of peace with the Central Powers, to be known as the "Peace of Bucharest." The chief provisions include demobilization of the Rumanian forces and reduction of the army to a small fraction under the present control of the Central Powers; the support of the Central Powers' army of occupation in the conquered parts of the country; permission for warships of the Central Powers along the whole length of the Danube; and the cession of certain specified parts of Rumanian territory. The Dobrudja is again ceded to Bulgaria, in order to rectify the latter's frontier, according to the provisions of the treaty of 1913; while the upper Dobrudja up to the Danube goes to the Central Powers, but Rumania is assured a trade route to the Black Sea by way of Constanza. Rumania, in compensation, is allowed to annex Bessarabia. The determination of definite economic relations is left for future arrangement. The Rumanian Parliament has been dissolved by royal decree, and new elections have been ordered for the new Parliament that is to convene on June 17. The Foreign Minister Arion has announced a policy of honest neutrality towards belligerents, and asserted that an economic situation had been created which made Rumania's future secure.

RUSSIA'S announcement that the American Consul at Vladivostok had interfered with Russia's internal affairs by aiding the anti-Bolshevist movement has been formally denied by Secretary Lansing through Ambassador Francis. Russia's Foreign Minister Tchitcherin has meanwhile demanded the recall of the French Ambassador because of unfriendly statements made by him during Russia's tragic days, and because of his making more difficult the relations between France and Russia. Peace parleys with the Ukraine have commenced, and the Russian delegation will meet soon with the Germano-Ukrainian delegation.

VIENNA seems to be suffering from more than her usual share of disaffection. It is reported that the Socialist party has published a manifesto announcing that they will resist absolutism; food scarcity is said to be intensifying the spirit of revolt among the Czechs and southern Slavs; and the political struggle in both Austria and Hungary is embittered by strikes and labor unrest. Hungary is said to have plenty of food, but starvation conditions prevail in parts of Austria. Innsbruck, in the Tyrol, and other cities are living on small rations. Serious disturbances in the Austro-Hungarian fleet are reported to have caused changes in the high command.

EARLIER naval operations, reported by the British Admiralty, designed to close the ports of Ostend and Zeebrügge, now being used as U-boat bases, were successfully completed on May 9, when the old cruiser Vindictive, filled with concrete and fitted as a block ship, was sunk across the entrance to Ostend harbor. The whole channel has not been blocked, but it has been rendered impracticable for big ships.

SUBMARINE sinkings for the week have not been announced, but among the losses reported are those of the Old Dominion liner Tyler off the French coast, with eleven lives lost, and the Canadian Pacific Company's steamer Medora. Meanwhile four of the Japanese ships chartered by the United States Shipping Board have arrived at Pacific ports, and will be rushed into the Atlantic service by way of the Panama Canal. They will be manned by Japanese and will fly the Japanese flag.

THE Sedition bill, which originated in the Senate, was passed by the House after brief consideration. Only the Socialist Representative from New York, Meyer London, voted against it, after protesting against the broad powers embodied for punishing disloyal acts and utterances. The bill now awaits the President's action.

THE winter-wheat crop, estimated at 572,539,000 bushels, has given rise to hopes for a billion-bushel wheat crop for the year. Secretary Houston has announced that farmers have utilized to the fullest extent all their man-power and machinery, and that they need the assistance in cultivation and harvesting of many more laborers. While the Departments of Agriculture and Labor are doing all they can to help the farmers secure labor, the cities and towns are asked to lend their assistance.

TWO important items in the news affecting the railway situation are the recommendation of the Railway Wage Commission to increase the wages of all men receiving less than $250 monthly, or more than 1,500,000 employees, and the recommendation made to Director-General McAdoo by his advisers to increase freight and passenger rates by about 25 per cent. It has been estimated by railroad officials that this increase will be necessary to meet the higher cost of wages, fuel, equipment, and general operating expenses. This increase would be the largest in the history of American railways. The proposed plan would yield about $900,000,000, and would leave a margin above the estimated increase in operating expenses.

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